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AN ANSWER
TO A BOOK ENTITVLED,
AN HUMBLE
REMONSTRANCE.

In which,

The Originall of { LITURGY / EPISCOPACY } is discussed.

And Quæres propounded Concerning both.

The PARITY of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture Demonstrated.
The occasion of their IMPARITIE in Antiquitie discovered.
The DISPARITIE of the Ancient and our Moderne Bishops manifested.
The ANTIQVITIE of Ruling Elders in the Church vindicated.
The PRELATICALL Church Bounded.

IEREMY 6.16.

Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the waies and Behold, and aske for the old way, which is the good way, and walke therein.

Tertull. de præscr. adu. hæret.

Id Dominicum et verum, quod prius traditum: id autem extraneum et falsum quod sit posterius.

Written by SMECTYMNVVS.

Printed in the yeare 1641.

AN ANSWER

TO A BOOK ENTITULED,

AN HUMBLE

REMONSTRANCE.

The Original of { Bishops / Episcopacy } and Liturgy.

And Power of Church Government both.

The PARITY of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture.

The Difference of Ancients in Antiquity.

The DISPARITY of the Ancient and our Bishops.

The ANTIQUITY of Ruling Elders in the Christian Church.

The PRESBYTERY Church Power.

By JEREMY TAYLOR.

Printed by Richard Badger and Daniel Frere.

1644.

[redacted]

MOST
HONORABLE LORDS,
AND
YE THE KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and Burgesses, of the Honorable House of Commons.

ALthough wee doubt not, but that booke which was lately directed to your Honours, bearing the name of an *Humble Remonstrance*, hath had accesse unto your presence: and is in the first approaches of it, discovered by your discerning spirits, to bee neither *Humble*, nor a *Remonstrance*; but a heape of confident, and ungrounded assertions; so that to your *Honours* a Reply may seeme superfluous. Yet lest the Authour should glory in our silence, as a granting of the cause; wee humbly crave your Honours leave, to present, not so much to your selves as to the world by your hands, a review of this remonstrance; in which the Authour after too large *a preface*, undertakes the support of two things which seeme to him to bee, threatned with danger of a present precipice, *the Liturgie and the Hierarchy*.

It was a constitution of those admired sonnes of Justice the *Areopagi*; that such as pleaded before them should pleade without *prefacing* and without *Passion*: had your *Honours* made such a constitutiõ, this Remonstrance must have beene banished from the face of your assembly: for

ἄνευ πολλῶν τῶν προοιμίων. ἄνευ παθους.

[illegible] of the booke, and
[illegible] as
it [illegible] of his words to finde
what [illegible] to answer, then to an-
swer [illegible]

We would not trace him in his words, but close immediately with his arguments; did wee not finde in him a sad exemplification of that Divine Axiome, *in Multitudine verborum non deest peccatum*, *in the Multitude of words there wants no sinne*: for though the Authour is bold to call upon your *Honours* to heate the *words of Truth and confidence*, yet how little truth there in this great confidence, the ensuing discourse shall discover. Pag. 23.

His very first words are confident enough, and yet as false as confident; wherein he *Impropriates all honestie unto these his papers, and brands all others with the name of Libellers*, and yet himselfe sinnes deepely against the rule of honesty, and lies naked to the Scourge of his owne censure.

1. First, in setting a brand upon *all* writings that have lately issued from the Presse, as if they had *All* forgotten to speake any other language then *Libells*: as if he onely himselfe had *forgotten*, that some things had issued by Authority of the *King* and *Parliament*. Pag. 1.

2. Secondly, in taxing (implicitely) all such as will not owne this Remonstrance for pious: as *none of the Peaceable and well affected Sonnes of the Church of England*.

3. Thirdly, in censuring the way of petitioning your Honours, the Ancient and ordinary free way of seeking redresse of our evills for a *Tumultuary and under-hand* Pag. 2.

4. Fourthly, in condemning all such as are not fautors of this *Episcopall Cause*, as none of his Majesties good Subjects, ascribing that praise onely to his owne party, Laying, *the eye of all the good Subjects of this whole Realme are fixed upon your Successe*, &c. Pag. 3.

5. Fifthly, in *Impropriating* to the same party the praise of *Orthodox*, pag. 6: as if to speake a word, or think a thought Pag. 6.

against

against Episcopacy, were no lesse Heresie, then it was in former time to speake against the Popes supremacie, or the monkes fat Belly; whereas whether the *Episcopall part* be the *Orthodox, peaceable, well affected part, and his Majesties onely good Subjects*, we *leave* to your Honours to judge, upon the numerous informations that flow in unto you from the severall parts of this Kingdome. *Pag. 2.*

Nor can they decline your Judgement, *seeing now we are (through Gods blessing) happily met in a much longed for Parliament*: but whether so much longed for by him and his accomplices; as by those against whom he whets his style, the Prayers that have obtained this happie meeting, and the prayses that doe attend it, will deride in that great day.

The *Helena*, whose Champion this Remonstrant chiefly is: is that *Government* which hee calles *Sacred*, viz. that *Government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, Archdeacons, &c.* which, saith he, *through the lides of some misliked persons some have endeavoured to wound. Misliked Persons?* and why not offending persons? why not guilty persons? when this *Honorable house hath found just cause* to charge some of them with crimes of the highest nature. *Our zeale for your Honours*, makes us feare, left your assembly should suffer in this point, as if your proceedings against such persons should be grounded upon compliance with such as did mislike them, rather then upon their owne demerits, or the justice of this Court.

But whatever those Persons be, *The Government it selfe is Sacred*, which *by the joynt confession of all Reformed Divines, derives it selfe from the times of the Blessed Apostles, without any interruption, without contradiction of any one considerable person in the world unto this present age.* This is but an *Egregious Untruth*, therefore we let it passe, till we come to close and contend with him in the point, where we shall demonstrate, that in the compasse of three lines hee hath packt up as many untruths, as could be smoothly conceited into so few words, as any man of common understanding, that looketh upon the face of the Government

Pag. 7.

Untruthes.

of almost all reformed Churches in the Christian world, may at first view discover.

But before we come to this, there are yet two things in this preface which we count not unworthy observation. The first is, the comparison which he makes between the two Governments, the Civil which with us is *Monarchie*: & the Sacred which with him is *Episcopacy*. Of the first he saith, *If Monarchie were not the Rule*, &c. he pleads it for Episcopacy, for if Scripture (as he interprets Scripture) it is VARIABLE, and NOT CERTAIN: but the other DIVINE and WORLD-WIDE, as he saith, that had men petitioned for the setting up of *Monarchicall* Government, they had (in his judgement) been sufficiently able, both by Scripture, and Antiquity, then in petitioning the alteration of the *Hierarchicall*. Had he found but any such pallage in any of his *Lewd Libellers* (as his modesty is always pleased to reclaime them) verbatim, if we may borrow his owne phrase, the cries of the *three Interessed Kingdomes, yea all the neighbour Churches, and if we may say, the whole Christian world, and no small part beyond it*, had rung with the lowd cryes of no lesse then *Treason, Treason*.

Remon. pag. 8.

Truelie, as his *Antiquities* we finde that *that his unmisterupted sacred Government*, hath so farre invaded the Civill, and so yoked Monarchies even in this Kingdome, as *Malmesbury* reports: That *William Rufus* oppressed by Bishops, perswaded the Jewes to confute them; promising thereupon to chuse *England* to their Religion, that he might be free of Bishops. And this is so natural an effect of *unalterable Episcopacy*, that *Pius* the fourth to the Spanish Embassadour, importuning him to permit Bishops to bee declared by the Councell of *Trent* to be *Jure Divino*, gave this answer: That his King knew not what he did desire, for if Bishops should bee so declared, they would bee all exempted from his Power, and as independent as the Pope himselfe.

Malmesbury. lib. 40.

Hist. Concil. Trid.

The second thing observable is the comparison hee makes betweene the late *alterations* attempted in our Neighbour Church by this Episcopall faction, and that

Alte-

Alteration that is reverently desired by the *humble petitioners* to this *Honorable House*. The one being attempted by strangers, endeavoring violently to obtrude *Innovations* upon a *setled Church and State*. The other *humbly petitioned* to the *Heads and Peeres* of our state by *Multitudes* the then *almost ruined by an Insurgent* faction. yet doth not this Reverend Matron blush to say, *if these be branded*, (so shee calles the just censures of this Honorable Houle) *For Incendiaries, how shall these Puritans escape, &c.* this cunningly endeavouring either to justifie the former by the practise of the latter, or to render the latter more odious then the former. *Pag. 9.*

The attempts of these men whom shee would thus render odious, shee craves leave to present to your Honours in two things, which are the subjects of this quarrell: The *Liturgie* and *Faile canes*, and we *humbly crave* your *Honours Leave to bestow a view*.

SECT. II.

First, the Liturgie of the Church of England (saith she) hath been hitherto esteemed Sacred, reverently used by holy Martyrs, daily frequented by devout Protestants, as that much more then once hath beene confirmed by the Edicts of religious Princes, and your owne Parliamentary Acts, &c. And hath it so? whence then proceede these many *Additions and Alterations*? that have so changed the face and fabricke of the liturgie, that as Doctor *Hall* spake once of the pride of *England*: if our fore-fathers should rise and see their daughters walking in *Cheapside* with their fannes and their fingales, &c. they would wonder what kinde of creatures they were, and say Nature had forgot her selfe and brought forth a monster. So if these holy Martyrs that once so reverently used the Liturgy, should revive and looke for their Liturgy (not by Authority of Parliament, they would be amazed, and wondering say: *England* had forgotten her selfe and brought forth, &c. Martyrs, what doe we heare of Martyrs which we know not? that one of your owne Bishops said it. *Liturgy. Pag. 10.*

a *Adhoc malorum devoluta est Ecclesia Dei & spons a Christi ut haereticorum exempla Sectentur et ad celebranda Sacramenta cælestia, disciplinâ Lux mutuetur detenebris, & id faciant christiani quod Antichristi faciunt. Cypr. Ep. 74.*

it in the meaning of whereof so long time, but you may well remember, that the service of the Church of England was not so dear, that of the Pope's fruitfulness and sparing, but would claime it as his owne, but that it is in English.

It is little then to the advantage of your dutie, that you tell us, it is [illegible] and to little service have the Priests to the Church of England, who have taught our Prayers to speake Latine againe. For if it be their language chiefly that overthrowes the Popes claime, [illegible] and what language then but the Popes may say, [illegible]

As for other Translations and the grievances [illegible] obtained from Parliament, which are the summe of this Remonstrance, whatsoever they have produced wee know not; but that [illegible] of Edward the Sixt have beene farre from [illegible]: we are sure [illegible] ous *Calvine* faith, that in the Liturgie there are [illegible] *Tolerabiles Ineptiæ*, which wee thinke is no very great applause.

To vindicate the Liturgie from scorne (as he calles it) *or* [illegible] or by your *Honours* [illegible] is the worke of his Remonstrance: for the offering whereof hee falls into [illegible] about the Antiquity of Liturgies; wee call it *unparalleled*, because no [illegible] will have [illegible] ever drew the lines of Liturgie so [illegible] Pag. 13. [illegible] by Liturgy this Remonstrant [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and *Tertullian*. But that there were not such *ſtinted Liturgies* as this *Remonſtrant* diſputes for, appeares by *Tertullian*, in his *Apol. Cap.* 30. where hee ſaith the Chriſtians of thoſe times did in their publique aſſemblies pray *ſine monitore quia de pectore*, *without any Prompter but their owne hearts*. And that ſo it ſhould bee the ſame Father proves in his Treatiſe, *de Oratione*: *Sunt quæ petantur*, *&c. There are ſome things to be asked according to the Occaſions* of every man: *the Lawfull and ordinary prayer* (*that is the Lords Prayer*) *being laid as a foundation*; *It is lawfull to build upon that foundation other prayers according to every ones occaſions*. And to the ſame purpoſe Saint *Auſtin* in his 121. *Ep. Liberum eſt*, *&c.* it is free to aske the ſame things that are deſired in the Lords Prayer, *aliis atque aliis verbis*, ſometimes one way and ſometimes an other: And before this in that famous place of *Iuſt. Mar. Apo.* 2. *He*, *who inſtructed the people*, *prayed according to his abilitie*, Nor was this liberty in prayer taken away, and ſet and impoſed formes introduced, untill the time that the *Arian* and *Pelagian* Hereſies did Invade the Church, and then becauſe thoſe Heretickes did convey and ſpread their poyſon in their formes of Prayer and Himnes, the Church thought it convenient to reſtraine the liberty of making and uſing publike formes: And firſt it ordained that none ſhould pray *pro Arbitrio ſed ſemper eadem preces*, that none ſhould uſe liberty to vary in prayer; but uſe alwaies the ſame forme, *Conc. Laod. Can.* 18. yet this was a forme of his owne compoſing, as appeares by another *Canon*, wherein it was ordered thus: None ſhould uſe any forme, unleſſe he had firſt conferred *Cum fratribus inſtructioribus*: *with the more learned of his Brethren*, *Conc. Carth. 3. Can.* 23. and laſtly that none ſhould uſe ſet prayers, but ſuch as were approved of in a Synode, which was not determined till the yeare 416. *Conc. Milev.* 2. *Can.* 12. And had there beene any Liturgies of Times of the firſt and moſt venera le antiquitie producible, the great admirers of them, and inquirers after them would have preſented them to the world ere this.

Tert. Ap. ad Gen. c. 39.

Iuſt. Mar. Apo. 2. ἐπρεσβεὺε ὅσῃ δύναμις ἀνακίμενος.

1.

Concil. La. Can. 18.

Conc. Carth. 3. Can. 23. *Anno* 397.

Conc. Milev. 2. *Can.* 12. *Ao.* 416.

we know that *Bishop Andrewes* in his zeale for Liturgies pursued the inquisite after the *Iewish Liturgie* so farre, that he thought hee had found it; and one there was which he sent to *Cambridge* to be translated: but there it was soone discovered, to have beene made long after the Iewes ceased to be the Church of God; and so himselfe suppresst it, that it never saw the light under a translation.

We wonder therefore, what this Remonstrant meant
Pag. 10. to affirme so confidently, that *part of the forme of prayer which was composed by our Blessed Saviour, was borrowed from the formes of prayer formerly used by Gods people.* An opinion wee never met before; indeed, wee have read that the *Rabbines* since the dayes of our Saviour have borrowed some expressions from that *Prayer*, and from other *Evangelicall passages*: But we never read till now, that the *Lord Christ the wisedome of the Father* borrowed from the *wisedome of the Rabbines* expressions to use in Prayer.

Pag. 11. And as much we wonder by what *Revelation or Tradition* (Scripture being silent in the thing) hee knew, that *Peter* and *Iohn*, when they went up to the Temple to pray, their Prayer was not of a *sudden and extemporary conception, but of a Regular prescription.* Sure wee are some as well read in *Iewish Antiquity*, as this Remonstrant shewes himselfe to be; have told us that the howre of Prayer was the time when the Priest burnt Incense; and the people were at their private prayers without, as appeares, *Luke* 1. 9. where we reade, that while *Zachary* the Priest went in to offer Incense, all the people stood without praying in the time of the Oblation. Which Prayers were so farre from being *Prescript. Formes* or Liturgies that they were not *vocall* but *mentall* Prayers, as Master *Meade* tells us in his exposition upon the eighth of the Revelations.

And what ever *Peter* and *Iohn* did, this we know, that when the Publican and the Pharisee went up to the
Luke 18. Temple to pray (as the Apostles did at the howre of prayer) their prayer *was not of Regular prescription, but of a present Conception.*

But

But if this Remonſtrant bee in the right, concerning the Jewiſh Liturgies, then the Evangelicall Church might better *have improved her peace and happineſſe, then in compoſing Modells of Invocation and Thankſgiving*, when there is one *extant and ready to be produced, that was conſtantly uſed by Gods people ever ſince Moſes dayes, and put over to the times of the Goſpel and confirmed by Apoſtolicall practiſe*: or elſe great is our loſſe, who are ſo unhappily deprived of the beſt *improvement, the Church made of her peace and happineſſe* in the firſt three hundred yeares: for rejecting thoſe *Liturgies* that are confeſt by the Learned to bee *Spurious*; We *challenge* this *Remonſtrant* to produce any *one Liturgie* that was the iſſue of thoſe times. And bleſſed *Conſtantine* was herein as unhappie as we, who needed not have compoſed formes of prayer for his Guard to uſe upon the Lords day, but might and would have taken them out of former Liturgies, if there had beene any; *And can ye with patience thinke that any ingenuous Chriſtian ſhould bee ſo tranſported*, as upon ſuch weake and unproved *premiſes* to build ſuch a *Confident concluſion*, as this Remonſtrant doth: and in that *Concluſion* forget the ſtate of the controverſie ſliding from the queſtion of a *preſcribed and impoſed Liturgie* to an arbitrary booke of prayer.

Pag. 11. *Euſeb. de vit. Con. li.* 4. *cap.* 18. *Pag.* 11.

In his *Rhetoricall Encomium of conceived prayer* wee ſhall more willingly beare a part with him, then they whoſe cauſe he pleades; for had that beene in their *hearts*, which is in this *booke: to hate, to be guiltie of powring water upon the Spirit, and gladly to adde oyle rather*: ſo many learned, able, Conſcientious *Preachers* had not been moleſted & ſuſpended, for *letting the conſtant flames of their fixed conceptions mount up from the Altar of their zealous hearts into the throne of Grace*: nor had there been ſo many advantages watched from ſome ſtops and ſeeming *ſoleciſmes* in ſome mens prayers, *to blaſpheme the ſpirit of Prayer*, which though now confeſt to be ſo *farre from being offenſive, that they are as pleaſing Muſick in the eares of the Almighty*: yet time hath beene, when they have ſounded as meere *Battologies*; nay no better then meere *Blaſphemies* in the eares of ſome Biſhops.

Pag. 12. *Pag.* 12.

Pag. 13. And if this conceived prayer be not to be opposed in another by any man that hath found the true operation of this grace in himselfe: with what spirit then are those possest, that have not only thus raged with their tongues against this way of prayer: but by sealing up the mouthes of Ministers from praying thus in publike, and imposing penances upon private Christians for praying thus in their Families: and compelling them to *abjure* this practise have endeavored with raging violence to banish this divine ordinance from our Churches and dwellings, and profest in open court: it was fitter for *Amsterdam* then for our Churches.

D. Corbet. *M. Novel.*

But howsoever this applause of conceived prayer may seeme to be Cordiall, yet he makes it but a *vantage ground* to lift up *publike formes of sacred Church Liturgie* (as hee calles it) the higher, that they may have the greater *honour*, that by the *power of your Authority they bee reinforced*, which worke there would have beene no neede to call your *Honours* to, had not *Episcopall zeale* broke forth into such flames of indignation against conceived prayers, that we have more just cause to implore the *propitious aide* of the same *Authoritie* to *reestablish the Liberty of this*, then they to *re-inforce* the necessity of that.

Pag. 13.

Yet there are two specious Arguments which this Remonstrant brings to perswade this desired re-inforcement, the Originall and Confirmation of our Liturgie.

For the first, he tells your *Honours*, it was *selected out of ancient Modells not* ROMAN *but* CHRISTIAN, *contrived by the holy Martyrs and Confessors of the blessed reformation of Religion*; where we beseech your *Honours* to consider how we may trust these men, who sometimes speaking and writing of the ROMAN Church, proclaime it a true Church of CHRIST, and yet here ROMAN and CHRISTIAN stand in opposition: sometimes they tell men, their Liturgie is wholly taken out of the *Roman Missall*, onely with some little alteration: and here they would perswade your Honours there is nothing *Roman* in it.

Pag. 13.

it. But it is wholy ſelected out of pure *Ancient Modells*, as the *Quinteſſence* of them all. Whereas alas the originall of it is publiſhed to the world, in that Proclamation of *Edward* the Sixt.

And though here they pleaſe to ſtile the Compoſers of it, *holy Martyrs, and Contrivers of the bleſſed Reformation*: yet there are *of the Tribe for whom he pleads*, not a few that have called them *Traytors* rather than *Martyrs*, and *Deformers* rather than *Reformers* of our Religion.

His other Argument for the Liturgie is taken from that *ſupply of ſtrength, it hath received from the Recommendation of foure moſt Religious Princes, and your owne Parliamentary eſtabliſhments: and more eſpecially from the Proclamation of King* James *of famous memory*: the validitie of which plea, your Honours are beſt able to judge, and therefore wee leave it at your Barre; yet theſe two things wee know: firſt, that this *forme* was never *eſtabliſhed* to be ſo *punctually obſerved*, ſo *rigorouſly preſſed*, to the *Caſting out of all that ſcruple it, or any thing in it* (as many of his Majeſties Subjects now doe) to the (*almoſt*) juſtling out of the *preaching of the Word*; and *Conceived Prayer altogether*. Pag. 13. 14.

And ſecondly, as ſure we are, that your *Honours* think neither your owne Lawes, nor the Proclamation of that *moſt famous and ever admired Prince*, to be as unalterable as the Lawes of the *Medes* and *Perſians*.

And now having briefly ſhewed, that *Liturgies* are not of that *antiquitie* that this *Remonſtrant* pretends, but that *conceived prayer* was in *uſe* in the Church of God before *Liturgies*, and is *juſtified from their owne months*, and not to be *found fault with by any but a graceleſſe man*: and having likewiſe ſhewed that *our Liturgie was taken* out of Models, not onely *Chriſtian* but *Roman*, and hath ſince the firſt compiling of it ſuffered *alteration* to the *worſe*; and though *eſtabliſhed by Law*, and confirmed by Proclamation, was never intended to the juſtling out, either of preaching or conceived prayer; theſe things declared, wee humbly crave your Honours leave to propound theſe few *Queries*.

Quere I.

Whether it be not fit to consider of the alteration of the present Liturgie.

1. First, because it symbolizeth so much with the Popish Masse, as that the Pope himselfe was willing to have it used, if he might but confirme it.

2. It was made and composed into this frame, on purpose to bring the Papists to our Churches, which we find to be with so little successe, as that it hath rather brought many of us to them, then any of them to us, and hath lost many of ours from us.

3. Because many things therein contained are stumbling blocks before the feet of many: such as those, the clogging it with Ceremonies, and the often and impertinent reiterating of the Lords Prayer, the ill translation of the Psalmes, and other Scriptures, the many phrases in the very prayers, which are liable to just exception. And whereas the Minister by the Scripture is the peoples mouth to God, this booke prescribes Responsories to be said by the people, some of which are unsuitable to what the Minister pronounceth, some of them seeme to favour of Tautologie, some are made to be so essentiall to the prayer, as that all which the Minister saith, is no prayer without them; as in the *Letanie*.

4. Because it is so much Idolized, as that it is accounted the onely worship of God in *England*, and is now made the upholder of a non-preaching Ministery, and is cryed up to that height, as that some are not ashamed to say, that the wit of men and Angels cannot mend it: and that it is a sufficient discharge of the Ministers dutie to reade this Booke.

Abbot against Church forsakers.

5. There are such multitudes of people, that distaste this booke, that unlesse it be altered, there is no hope of any mutuall agreement betweene Gods Ministers and their people.

6. There is such a vast difference betweene it, and the Liturgies

turgies of all other reformed Churches, as that it keepes them at a distance from us, and us from full Communion with them.

Quere II.

Whether the first reformers of Religion did ever intend the use of a Liturgie further, than to be an helpe, in the want, or to the weakneſſe of a Miniſter.

All other reformed Churches, though they uſe Liturgies, yet doe not binde their Miniſters to the uſe of them. 1.

A Rubrick in King *Edward* booke left it unto the diſcretion of the Miniſter, what and how much to reade, when there was a Sermon. 2.

The Homilies which are appointed to be read, are left free either to be read or not, by preaching Miniſters, and why not then the Liturgie; eſpecially conſidering that the ability to offer up the peoples wants to God in prayer, is part of the Miniſteriall office, as well as preaching. And if it can be thought no leſſe then ſacriledge, to rob the people of the Miniſters gift in preaching, and to tie them to Homilies, it can be no leſſe, to deprive them of their gift in prayer. 3.

The ground of the firſt binding of it upon all to uſe, was not to tie godly men from exerciſing their gift in prayer; but the old popiſh Prieſts, that by a ſeeming returne to our Religion, did through indulgence retaine their places; from returning to the old Maſſe. 4.

That which makes many refuſe to be preſent at our Church ſervice, is not onely the Liturgie it ſelfe, but the impoſing of it upon Miniſters. And we finde no way to recover our people to a ſtinted prayer, but by leaving it free to uſe or not to uſe. 5.

If it be objected, that this will breed diviſions and diſturbances in Churches, unleſſe there be a uniformitie, and that there are many unable. *Ob.*

It hath not bred any diſturbance in other reformed Churches. *Anſ.* 1.

Why

2 Why ſhould the free libertie of uſing or not uſing a Liturgie, breed more confuſion than the free libertie of reading or not reading Homilies, eſpecially when Miniſters ſhall teach people, not to condemne one another in things indifferent.

3 If there be a care taken in thoſe that have the power to make Miniſters, to chooſe men gifted as well for prayer as preaching, there cannot be conceived how any inconvenience ſhould follow. Or if afterwards it ſhould appeare, that any Miniſter ſhould prove inſufficient to diſcharge the dutie of prayer in a conceived way, it may be impoſed on him as a puniſhment, to uſe ſet formes and no other. But why any Miniſter that hath the gift of prayer, in an abundant meaſure, as well as of preaching, ſhould be hindered from exerciſing his gift well, becauſe another uſeth it ill, is a new Divinitie never heard of in Gods Church, till Biſhop *Wrens* dayes, who forbad all uſe of conceived prayer in the Church.

Sect. III.

WEE come now with your *Honours favour*, to the ſecond point diſputed in this Remonſtrance; *Epiſcopacy it ſelfe*: againſt which, whatſoever hath been either ſpoken or written by any, either *learned Divines*, *Pag.* 17. or *well reformed Churches* (as his conſcience knowes, there are of both that have writ againſt it) is Taxed by him as no other than the *unjuſt Clamors either of weake or factious perſons*. *Pag.* 17. Sure the man thinkes he hath obtained a *Monopoly* of learning, and all *Knowledge* is lockt up in his *boſome*; and not onely *Knowledge* but *piety* and *peaceablenesſe* too; for all that are not of his opinion, muſt ſuffer either as weake or factious, if he may be their Judge. We know not what this Arrogancy might attempt to faſten upon your *Honours*, ſhould the *bowells* of your compaſſion be enlarged, to waigh in the Ballance of your wiſdomes, the *multitude* of *Humble Petitions*, preſented to you from ſeverall parts of this Kingdome, that hath long groaned under the

the Iron and Insupportable yoake of this *Episcopall Government*, which yet we doubt not, but your *Honours* will please to take into your prudent and pious consideration; Especially knowing it is their continuall practise to loade with the odious names of *Faction* all that justly complaine of their *unjust opposition*.

In his addresse to his defence of Episcopacy, he makes an unhappie confession *that hee is confounded in himselfe*. Your Honours may in this beleeve him, for hee that reades, this Remonstrance may easily observe so many falsities and contradictions, though presented to publike view, with a face of as confident boldnesse, as could not fall from the pen of any, but *a selfe-confounded man*: which though we doubt not but *your Honours* have descryed; yet because they are hid from an errant, and unobserving eye, under the Embroideries of his silken Language, wee Humbly crave your Honours leave to put them one by one upon the file, that the world may see what credit is to be given to the bold assertions of this confident Remonstrant. *Pag.* 17.

1.

First, in his second page, he dubbs his Book* *the faithfull messenger of all* ª *the peaceable and right affected Sonnes of the Church of England*: which words besides that unchristian *Theta*, which as wee already observed they set upon all that are not of his party, carry in the bowells of them a notorious falsitie and contradiction to the phrase of the booke; for how could this booke be the messenger of all *his owne party* in England, when it is not to be imagined, that all could know of the comming forth of this booke before it was published: and how can that booke crave admittance in *all their names*, that speakes in the singular number, and as in the person of one man almost the whole booke thorough.

* *Pag.* 2.

ª One of these Sonnes of the Church of *England* whose Messenger this Remonstrance is, was he who swore by the Eternall God, he would bee the Death of those that did appeare to move against the greevances of Episcopacy, and if the rest of these Millions mentioned pag. 2. whose thousands are so punctually calculated pa. 41. bee of his spirit: they are an army of very peaceable and affected men.

But it may be some will say this is but a small slippe; well be it so: but in the seventh page hee layes it on in foure lines, asserting these foure things: First, that *Episcopall Government*, (that very same Episcopall Government, which some *he saith seekes to wound*, *Pag.* 7.

2.

that is Government by Diocesan Bishops) derives it selfe from the Apostles times, which though wee shall anon more fully confute anone, yet wee cannot here but ranke it among his notorious —: for how could there be such Government of a Diocesse by a Bishop derived from the Apostles times: when in the Apostles times there were no Bishops distinct from Presbyters, as wee shall shew, and if there had beene Bishops, yet they were no Dioceſans, for it was a hundred yeares after Christ, or as most agree 260, before parishes were distinguished, and there must be a distinction of Parishes before there could be an union of them into Dioceſſes.

Evarystus. 160. *Dionisius.* 200. Some say 267. as Polidor Virgill.

Secondly, it is by *the joynt confession of all reformed Divines granted, that this sacred Government is derived from the Apostles*: what all reformed Divines? was *Calvin, Beza, Iunius*, &c. of that minde? Are the reformed Churches of *France, Scotland, Netherlands*, of that Judgement, wee shall shew anon that there is no more Truth in this assertion then if he had said with *Anaxagoras*; snow is blacke, or with *Copernicus*, the Earth moves, and the heavens stand still.

2.

Thirdly, he saith this *Government hath continued without any interruption*: what doth he meane, at *Rome*? for we reade in some places of the world this Government was never knowne for many yeares together: as in *Scotland*, we reade that in Ancient times the *Scots* were instructed in the Christian faith by Priests & Monkes, & were without Bishops 290 yeares: yea to come to *England*, we would desire to know of this Remonstrant whether God had a Church in *England* in Queene *Maries* dayes or no? and if so, who were then the Bishops of this Church, for some there must be, if it bee true that this man saith, this Government hath continued without any interruption unto this day; and Bishops there we know not where to finde but in the line of Popish succession.

3.

Iohan. Major. lt. 2. Hist. de gest. Scot. Cap. 2.

Fourthly, he saith it hath thus continued *without the contradiction of any one Congregation in the Christian World*. It seemes hee hath forgotten, what their owne darling

Heylin

Heylin hath written of the people of *Biscay in Spaine*, that they admit of no Bishops to come among them, for when *Ferdinand* the Catholike came in progresse accompanied among others with the Bishop of *Pampelone*, *the people* rose up in Armes, drove Backe the Bishop, and gathering up all the dust which they had thought hee had trode on, *Heylins Geog. Pag.* 55. flung it into the Sea.

Which story had it beene recorded onely by him, it would have beene of lighter Credit. But wee reade the same in the Spanish Chronicle, who saith more then the Doctor, for hee tells us that the People threw that dust that the Bishop or his Mule had troade on into the Sea with *curses and Imprecations*: which certainely saith hee was not done without some *Mysterie*; those people not being voide of Religion, but superstitiously devout as the rest of the Spanyards are: so that they are one Congregation in the Christian world in which this Government hath met with contradiction. *Gener. Hist. of Spaine lib.* 22.

And are not the *French*, *Scottish*, and *Belgicke* Churches worthy to be counted Christian Congregations, and who knowes not that amongst these this Governement hath met not onely with verball, but reall contradiction.

Yet he cannot leave his ——: But within two pages is at 6.
it againe; and *tells us of an unquestionable clearnesse wherein* *Pag.* 9.
it hath beene from the Apostles derived to us, how unquestionable? when the many volumes written about it, witnesse to the world, and to his *conscience*, it hath beene as much questioned as any point (almost) in our Religion.

And that assertion of his that tells us that the people 7.
of God *had a forme of prayer as ancient as Moses, which was constantly practised to the Apostles dayes, and by the Apostles, &c.* though wee have shewed how bold and how false this assertion is, yet wee mention it here as deserving to be put into the Catalogue.

And that he may not seeme *Contra Mentem ire*: but 8.
to be of the same minde still, *pag.* 18. hee *saith Episcopall* *Pag.* 18.
Governement hath continued in this Iland ever since the first

plantation of the Gospel without contradiction. Had he taken a lesse space of time, and said but since the *resuscitation* of the Gospel: we can prove it to him and shall, that since the reformation, Episcopacy hath beene more contradicted, then ever the Papacy was before the extirpation of it.

9. Yet still the man runnes on, thinking to get credit to his untruths by their multiplications, for *pag.* 21. he saith; *Certainely except all Histories, all Authors faile us, nothing can be more certaine then this truth: Os Durum!* Nothing more certaine: what is it not more certaine that there is a God? is it not more certaine that Christ is God and man? is it not more certaine that Christ is the onely Saviour of the world? Nothing more certaine: must this then bee an Article of our Creede, the corner stone of our Religion: must this bee of necessity to Salvation? Nothing more certaine. O that men should not onely forget themselves, but God also: And in their zeale for their owne Honour utter words bordering upon *Blasphemy.*

Indignation will not suffer us to prosecute these falsities of his any further; wee will leave this displeasing service, onely retorting the words of this Remonstrant upon himselfe; *Surely could he looke with our eyes* (or any eyes that were not partiall) *he would see cause to be throughly* Pag. 18. *ashamed of these his grosse injurious miscarriages, and should be forced to confesse, that never good cause* (if his cause be good) *had more reason to complaine of a sinfull prosecution.*

Sect. IV.

WE will now come with your Honours patience to weigh, whether there be anie more strenght in his arguments, then there is truth in his assertions.

His Plea for Episcopacy consists of two parts. In the first he brings Arguments for the supporting of it. In the second he undertakes to answer the objections that may bee made against it.

His first argument for it, is couched in these words;

Were

Were this Ordinance meerely humane or Eccleſiaſticall, if there could no more be ſaid for it, but that it is exceeding Ancient, of more then fifteene hundred yeares, &c. The ſtrength of which Argument lies in this, that they have beene in peaceable poſſeſſion of this Government fifteene hundred yeares and upwards; and in this Iland ever ſince the Goſpell, without Contradiction. Pag. 18.

In which words he ſpeakes two things, which deſerve juſt cenſure. Firſt, that the Hierarchicall Government hath continued for fifteene hundred yeares, therefore ſhould not now be altered, which may well be called, as *Hierome* in another Caſe; *Argumentum Galeatum, an argument Calculated for the Meridian of Epiſcopacy, and may indifferently ſerve for all Religions in the world:* For thus the Jewes might have pleaded againſt Chriſt the Antiquitie of more then ſo many hundred yeares; and thus the Heathens did plead againſt the Chriſtian Religion, which *Juſtin Martyr* in his Apologie Anſwers. And by this argument the Pope ſits as faſt rivetted in his chayre at Rome, as ours in theirs: whoſe plea for Antiquitie runs paralell with theirs. It is a good Obſervation of *Cyprian*, that Chriſt ſaid, *Ego ſum via, veritas & vita*, not *Ego ſum conſuetudo*; and [a] that *Conſuetudo ſine veritate eſt vetuſtas erroris*, Chriſt is Truth, and not Cuſtome, and cuſtome without truth, is a mouldy errour: and as Sir *Francis Bacon* ſaith, *Antiquitie without Truth, is a Cypher without a Figure.*

Yet had this [b] Remonſtrant been as well verſed in Antiquitie, as he would beare the world in hand he hath, he might have found Learned Ancients affirming, there was a Time when the Church was not governed by Biſhops, but by Presbyters. And when by Biſhops, he might further have ſeene more affinitie betweene our Biſhops and the Pope of Rome, then betweene the Primitive Biſhops

a *Fruſtra conſuetudinẽ nobis opponunt, quaſi conſuetudo major ſit veritate aut non id ſit in Spiritualibus ſequendum, quod in melius fuerit à Spiritu Sancto Revelatum, Cypr. Ep. 73.*

b It is well obſerved by *Gerhard*, that a Biſhop *Phraſi Apoſtolicâ*, that is, a Biſhop that is the ſame with a Presbyter, is of fifteene hundred yeares ſtanding; but a Biſhop, *Phraſi Pontificiâ*, that is, a diſtinct order ſuperiour to a Presbyter inveſted with ſole power of Ordination and Iuriſdiction, is but a Novell invention.

and them. And that as King *James*, of famous memory, said of the Religion of *England*, that it differed no more from Rome, then Rome did from what it was at first; may as truly be said of Bishops, that we differ no more from them, then they doe from what Bishops were, when first they were raised unto this eminency; which difference wee shall shew in our ensuing Discourse, to be so great, that as he said of Rome, he did *Romam in Româ quærere*, he sought Rome in Rome; so we *Episcopatum in Episcopatu*, may goe seek for a *Bishop among all our Bishops*.

Pag. 19. And whereas in his application of this Argument to the Bishops of this Nation, he saith, *It hath continued in this Iland ever since the first plantation of the Gospell, without contradiction*; which is his *Second* in this Argument. How false this is wee have declared already, and wee all know, and himselfe cannot but know, that there is no *one thing* since the reformation, that hath met with so much *Contradiction* as *Episcopacy* hath done; witnesse the severall *Bookes*, written in the Reignes of our severall Princes, and the many *Petitions* exhibited to our severall *Parliaments*, and the many speeches made therein against *Episcopall Government*: many of which are yet extant.

Pag. 19. As for that supply of Accessory strength, which he begs to this Argument, from the *light of nature, and the rules of just policy, which* (saith he) *teacheth us not easily to give way to the change of those things, which long use and many* [a] *Lawes have firmely established, as Necessary and Beneficiall*; it is evident, that those things which to former Ages have *seemed Necessary* and *Beneficiall*, may to succeeding Generations, prove not *Necessary* but *Noxious*, not *Beneficiall* but *Burthensome*. And then the same *light of nature*, and the same *just policy*, that did at the first command the esta-

[a] What the establishment of Episcopacy by the Lawes is, and upon what grounded, the learned Sir *Edward Cooke* informes us, who reports, That in an Act of Parliament holden at *Carlile* in the 25. yeare of *Edw.* 1. it is declared, that the holy Church of *England* was founded in the state of Prelacy within the Realme of *England*, by the King and his Progenitours, &c. for them to informe the people in the Law of God, and to keepe hospitality, and give almes, and doe other works of charity. And the said Kings in times past were wont to have their advise and counsell for the safe-guard of the Realme, when they had need of such Prelates and Clarkes so advanced. *Cooke de jure Regis Ecclesiastico*. But whether Bishops have observed the Orders of their first foundation, &c.

blishment

bliſhment of them, may and will perſwade their *abolliſhment*; if not, either our Parliaments muſt never Repeale any of their former Acts (which yet they have juſtly and wiſely done) or elſe in ſo doing muſt run Counter to the *light of nature*, and the *Rules of juſt policy*; which to thinke were an impietie to be puniſhed by the Judge.

Sect. V.

THe Second Argument for the defence of Epiſcopall Government, is from the *Pedigree of this holy Calling, which he derives from no leſſe then an Apoſtolicall, and in that, right and divine inſtitution*; and aſſayes to prove it from the practice of the Apoſtles; and as he ſaith, the *cleare practice of their Suceeſſors, continued in Chriſts Church to this very day*: and to this Argument he ſo much confides, that he concludes it with this *Triumphant Epiphonema, What ſcruple can remaine in any ingenuous heart? And determines, if any continue yet unſatisfied, it is in deſpight of reaſon, and all evidence of Hiſtory, and becauſe he wilfully ſhuts his eyes, with a purpoſe not to ſee the light. Bona verba.* Pag. 19. 20. Pag. 21.

By your favour Sir, we will tell you notwithſtanding the ſuppoſed ſtrength of your argumentation, there is one ſcruple yet remaining, and if you would know upon what ground, it is this, becauſe wee finde in Scripture (which by your owne Confeſſion is *Originall Authoritie*) that Biſhops and Presbyters were *originally* the ſame, though afterwards they came to be diſtinguiſhed: and in proceſſe of time, Epiſcopacy did ſwallow up all the *honour* and *power* of the *Presbytery*; as *Pharaohs* leane Kine did the fat. Pag. 8.

Their Identity is diſcernable; firſt, from the ſame names given unto both; ſecondly, from the ſame office, deſigned unto both in Scripture. As for the names, are not the ſame names given unto both in ſacred Writ? Let the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh verſes of the firſt Chapter to *Titus* teſtifie: in the fift verſe, the Apoſtle ſhews that he left *Titus* in Creet to ordaine Elders in every Citie: in the

ſixth verſe, he gives a delineation of the perſons that are capable of ſuch Ordination: and in the ſeventh, the Reaſon, why the perſon to be ordained, muſt be ſo qualified; *for a Biſhop, &c.* Now if the Biſhop and Elder be not here the ſame, but names of diſtinct office and order, the Apoſtles reaſon rendred in the ſeventh verſe of his direction in the fift and ſixt verſes, is (with reverence be it ſpoken) inconſequentiall, and his demand unjuſt. If a Chancellour in one of the Univerſities ſhould give Order to his Vice-chancellour to admit none to the degree of Batchelour in Arts, but ſuch as were able to *preach*, or keepe a Divinitie Act; *For Batchelours in Divinitie muſt be ſo*: what reaſon or equitie were in this? So if *Paul* leaving *Titus* as his *Locum tenens*, as it were in Creet for a ſeaſon, ſhould give order to him not to admit any to be an *Elder* but one thus & thus qualified, becauſe a *Biſhop* muſt be ſo. Had a Biſhop been an Order or Calling diſtinct from, or ſuperiour to a Presbyter, and not the ſame, this had been no more rationall or equall then the former; therefore under the name of Biſhop in the ſeventh verſe the Apoſtle intends the Elder, mentioned in the fift verſe. Conſonant to this is the Language of the ſame bleſſed Apoſtle, *Acts* 20. verſ. 17, 18. where ſuch as in the 17 verſe he calls πρεσβυτερους, *Elders*, in the 28. he calls ἐπισκοπους, in ordinary Engliſh, *Biſhops*: though our Tranſlation there, (we know not for what reaſon) reads it *Overſeers*; not ſo rendring the word in any other Text.

And though this Remonſtrant undertakes to ſhew a
Pag. 24. cleare and received diſtinction, of *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons, as three diſtinct ſubordinate Callings in Gods Church, with an evident ſpecification of the dutie and charge belonging to each of them; or elſe let this claimed Hierarchy be for ever hurled out of the Church*: Yet let us tell him, that we never
1. finde in Scripture theſe three Orders, *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, mentioned together: But onely *Biſhops* and
2. *Deacons*, as *Philip.* 1. and 1 *Tim.* Nor doe we find in Scripture any *Ordination* to the office of a *Biſhop*, differing from
3. the *Ordination* of an *Elder*: Nor doe we finde in Scripture, the

the *specification* of any *Duty* charged upon a *Bishop*, that *Elders* are secluded from: Nor any *qualification* required in a *Bishop*, that is not requisite in *every Presbyter*; some of which, if not all, would be found, were they not the same.

But if this *Remonstrant* thinke to helpe himselfe by taking Sanctuary in *Antiquity* (though wee would gladly rest in *Scripture*, the Sanctuary of the Lord) yet wee will follow him thither, and there shew him that *Hierome* from the Scriptures proves more then once, *Presbyters* and *Bishops* to bee the same. And *Chrysostome* in *Philip.* 1. *Homil.* 2. with his admirer *Theophilact in Philip.* 1. affirmes that while the Apostles lived, the Names *of Bishops and Presbyters* were not distinguished: And not onely while the Apostles lived but in after ages. Doth not *Irenæus* use the name of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* ἀδιαφόρως, in a promiscuous sence. Are not *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Telesphorus*, *Sixtus*, whom the Papists call *Bishops*, and the *Popes predecessors*, termed by *Eusebius Presbyters*. Nor was it strange in the Primitive times to heare *Bishops* called *Presbyters*; when Presbyters writing to their Bishops have called him *Frater*. So *Cyprian* (*Epist.* 26. in the beginning) is stiled by his Presbyters, Deacons and Confessors, nor was that holy Martyr offended with that Title, nor they condemned of insolency that used it.

Hierony. Ep. ad Evag. & ad Ocea.

Iren. adver. hær. l. 4 cap. 43. 44.

Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 23.

But what should we burthen your patience with more Testimonies? when the evidence of this truth hath shined with so strong a beame, that even our *Adversaries* have stooped to it, and confessed that their *Names* were the same in the Apostles time: But yet say they the *Offices* were distinct.

Bellarm. de Cleric. Lib. 1. cap. 15.

Now here wee would gladly know, what these men make the distinct Office of a Bishop.

Is it to edifie the Church by word and Sacrament? is it to ordaine others to that worke? is it to rule, to govetne, by admonition and other censures? if any of these, if all these make up the proper worke of a Bishop; we can prove from Scripture that all these belong

unto the Presbytery which is no more then was granted by a Councell [a].

a *Presbyteris sicut Episcopis Dispensatio Mysteriorum Dei commissa est: Præsunt enim Ecclesiæ Christi in Consecratione Dominici corporis & sanguinis, consortes sunt cum Episcopis: & similiter in Doctrina Populorum & in officio prædicandi: ad solum propter auctoritatem, summo Sacerdoti Clericorum Ordinatio reservata est: Concil. Aquisgran. primum, Can. 8.*

Evangelium tribuit his qui præsunt Ecclesiæ Mandatum docendi Evangelij, remittendi peccata, administrandi Sacramenta: præterea jurisdictionem, videlicet Mandatum Excommunicandi eos quorum nota sunt crimina, & rursus eosdem absolvendi: At Omnium confessione etiam adversariorum liquet, hanc potestatem Iure Divino communem esse Omnibus qui præsunt Ecclesiæ, sive Pastores vocentur sive Presbyteri sive Episcopi. Scriptum Philip. Melanch. *in Conventu Smalcald. Anno 1540. a præsulis illarum Ecclesiarum Doctoribus communi consensu comprobatum de potestate & jurisdictione Episcoporum.*

1. For the first, Edifying of the Church by word and Sacraments, though we feare they will some of them at least scarce owne this as *their proper worke* (for some have been cited into the *High Commission* for saying, it belongs to them) yet Sir wee are sure, Scripture makes it προτον, a *chiefe* of the Episcopall office; for so in the 1 Pet. 5. 2. they are said to doe the worke of a Bishop, when they doe feede the flocke of God. And this is such a priviledge *we* hope their *Lordships* will give the poore Presbyters leave to share with them in: or if not, we will tell them that the Apostle *Peter* in that forecited place, and the Apostle *Paul*, *Act.* 20. binds this worke upon our hands, and *Woe unto us if we preach not the Gospel.*

προτον.

περιφανειν.

But this branch of Episcopall and Presbyterall office we passe with brevity, because in this there hath not so much controversie as in the next; which they doe more wholy *impropriate* to themselves: the power of Ordination.

Which power, that it was in former times in the hands of Presbyters appeares 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift which was given thee by Prophesie, and by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.* The gift here spoken of is the Ministeriall gift, the exercise whereof, the Apostle exhorts *Timothy* not to neglect, which saith hee, he had received,

nor

not by the laying on of the hands of one single man, whether *Apostle*, or *Bishop*, or *Presbyter*; But τὸ πρεσβυτέριον the Presbytery, that is the *whole company* of Presbyters, for in that sense onely we finde πρεσβυτέριον taken in Scripture, as in *Luke* 22. verse 66. *Act.* 22. verse 5. which the Christian Church called the *Ecclesiasticall Senate*, as *Jerome* in *Isay* 3. *Nos habemus in Ecclesia Senatum nostrum, Cœtum Presbyterorum*, and an *Apostolicall Senate*: συνέδριον Ἀποστόλων *Ignatius Epist. ad Magnes*: and some times πρεσβυτέριον, *Concil. Ancyr. Can.* 18.

Ierom Isa. 3.

Igna. Epis. ad Magnes.

Conc. Ancyr. Can. 18.

And though the Apostle in his second Epistle to *Tim.* 1. 6. makes mention of the laying on of his hands: yet to maintaine the Harmony of Scripture, it must not bee denied, but there was imposition of hands by the Presbyterie, as well as by himself, & so it was a joynt act; So that in this there is no more difference then in the former.

And if there be no difference betweene Presbyters in feeding or ordaining, let us see if there bee any in the third part of their office of *Ruling*, which though our *Bishops* assume wholy to themselves, yet wee shall discover, that it hath beene committed to and exercised by *Presbyteriall* hands.

For who are they of whom the Scripture speakes, *Heb.* 13. 17. *Obey them that have the Rule over you, for they watch for your soules, as they that must give an account, &c.*

Where also such as watch over the soules of Gods people, are intituled *to Rule* over them. So that unlesse *Bishops* will say, that they *onely watch* over the soules of Gods People, and are *onely to give an account* for them: they cannot challenge to themselves the *sole Rule* over them. And if the *Bishops* can give us good security, that they will acquit us from *giving up our account to God* for the soules of his people, we will quit our plea, and resigne to them the sole Rule over them.

So againe in the 1 *Thessa.* 5. 12. *Know them which labour amongst you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you.*

In which words are contained these truthes; First that

in one Church (for the *Theſſalonians* were but one Church, 1 *Chap.*) there was not ὁ πρωτεύων: but οἱ πρωτεύοντες; not *one chiefe Biſhop* or *Preſident*, but the *Preſidencie was in many.*

2. Secondly, that this *Preſidencie* was of ſuch as laboured in the word and Doctrine.

3. Thirdly, that the Cenſures of the Church were managed not by one, but by them all in *Communi. Them that admoniſh you.*

4. Fourthly, that there was among them a *Parity*, for the Apoſtles bids *know them* in an *Indifferency* not diſcriminating one from another: yea ſuch was the Rule that Elders had, that Saint *Peter* thought it needefull to make an exhortation to them to uſe their power with *Moderation*, not *Lording it over Gods Heritage*, 1 *Pet.* 5.3.

By this time we have ſufficiently proved from Scripture, that *Biſhops* and *Presbyters* are the ſame in Name, in Office, in Edifying the Church, in power of Ordination and Iuriſdiction; we ſumme up all that hath been ſpoken in one Argument.

They which have the *ſame Name*, the *ſame Ordination* to their Office, the *ſame Qualification* for *their Office*, the *ſame worke* to feede the *flocke* of God, to *ordaine Paſtors* and *Elders*, to *Rule*, and *Governe*; they are one and the ſame Office: But ſuch are *Biſhops* and *Presbyters*, *Ergo*.

Sect. VI.

BUt now the dint of all this *Scripture* the *Remonſtraut* would elude, by obtruding upon his Reader *a commentary* (as he calls it) of *the Apoſtles owne practiſe* (which hee would force to contradict their owne Rules) to which he *ſuperadds the unqueſtionable gloſſe of the cleare practiſe of their immediate ſucceſſors in this adminiſtration.* For the Apoſtles practiſe, we have already diſcovered it, from the Apoſtles owne writings; and for his Gloſſe he ſuperadds, if it corrupts not the text we ſhall admit it, but if it doe, we muſt anſwer with *Tertullian*, *Id verum quodcunque primum*

Pag. 20.

Tertull.

num: id adulterum quod posterius, whatsoever is first is true; but that which is latter is adulterous.

In the examination of this Gloſſe, to avoyde needleſſe Controverſie. Firſt, we take for granted by both ſides, that the firſt and beſt Antiquitie, uſed the *names of Biſhops* and *Presbyters* promiſcuously. Secondly, that in proceſſe of time, ſome one was honored with the name of *Biſhop*, and the reſt were called *Presbyters* or *Cleri*. Thirdly, that this was not *Nomen inane*, but there was ſome kinde of Imparitie betweene him and the reſt of the Presbyters.

Yet in this wee differ; that they ſay, this *Impropriation* of the name, and *Imparitie of the place, is of Divine Right and Apoſtolicall Inſtitution*: wee affirme both to be occaſionall, and of humane Invention; and undertake to ſhew out of Antiquitie, both the *occaſion upon which*, and the *Perſons by whom this Imparitie* was brought into the Church.

On our parts ſtands *Ierome* and *Ambroſe*, and others, whom we doubt not but our Remonſtrant will grant a place among his Gloſſators: Saint *Ierome* tells us in 1 *Tit.*

Idem eſt ergo Presbyter qui Epiſcopus: et antequam Diaboli inſtinctu, ſtudia in Religione fierent, & diceretur in populis, ego ſum Pauli, *ego* Apollo, *ego* Cephæ, *communi Presbyterorum Conſilio eccleſiæ gubernabantur. Poſtquã verò unuſquiſque eos quos baptizaverat ſuos putabat eſſe, non Chriſti; in toto Orbe decretum eſt, ut unus de Presbyteris electus ſuperponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis Eccleſiæ Cura pertineret, & ſchiſmatum ſemina*

A Presbyter and a Biſhop is the ſame: and before there were through the Devils inſtinct, diviſions in Religion, & the people began to ſay, I am of *Paul*, and I of *Apollo*, and I of *Cephas*. The Churches were governed by the Common Counſell of the Presbyters: but after that each man began to account thoſe whom he had baptized his own, & not Chriſts; it was decreed through the whole world, that one of the Presbyters ſhould be ſet over the reſt; to whom the Care of all the Church ſhould belong, that the

tollantur. Putet aliquis non Scripturarum, sed rerum istarum esse distinctionem, Episcopum & Presbyterum unum esse, & alium alterius ordinis. Ante electos Religionis autores, Apostolus Paulus ad Philippenses verba dicens, Paulus & Timotheus servi Jesu Christi, qui sunt Philippis, cum Episcopis & Diaconis, &c. Philippi una est urbs Macedoniæ, in certè in una Civitate non poterant plures esse (ut nuncupantur) Episcopi, &c. sicut ergo Presbyteri sciant se ex Ecclesiæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit esse subjectos; ita Episcopi, noverint se magis consuetudine, quàm dispositionis Dominicæ veritate Presbyteris esse majores, & in Communi debere Ecclesiam regere.

seeds of schism might be taken away. Thinkes any that this is my opinion, and not the opinion of the Scripture, that a Bishop and an Elder is the same, let him reade the words of the Apostle to the *Philippians*, saying, *Paul* and *Timothy*, the servants of Jesus Christ, to them that are at *Philippi* with the Bishops & Deacons. *Philippi* is one City of *Macedonia*, and certainly in one Citie there could not be many Bishops (as they are now called &c.) & after the allegations of many other Scriptures, he concludes thus; as the Elders therfore must know, that they are to be subject to him that is set over them by the Custome of the Church; so *let the Bishops know, that it is more from custome, then from any true dispensation from the Lord, that they are above the Presbyters, & that they ought to rule the Church in common.*

In which words of *Ierome*, these five things present themselves to the Readers view;

1. First, that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are originally the same; *Idem ergo est Presbyter qui Episcopus.*

2. Secondly, that that Imparitie that was in his time betweene Bishops and Elders, was grounded upon Ecclesiasticall Custome, and not upon divine Institution; *Episcopi noverint, &c.*

3. Thirdly, that this was not his private judgement, but the judgement of Scripture; *Putet aliquis, &c.*

4. Fourthly, that before this Prioritie was upon this occa-

sion

from hence, the Church was governed *Communi Presbyterorum Consilio*, by the Counsell of the Presbyters in common, and that even after this Imparitie, it ought to be so governed; *Sciunt Episcopi se Ecclesiam debere in Communi regere.*

Fiftly, that the occasion of this Imparitie and Superioritie of Bishops above Elders, was the divisions which through the Devils instinct fell among the Churches; *Postquam vero Diaboli instinctu.* 5.

Saravia would take advantage of this place, to deduce this Imparitie as high as from the Apostles times, because even then they began to say, *I am of Paul, and I of Apollos*: but sure Saint *Jerome* was not so weake as this man would make him, to speake inconsistencies; and when he propounds it to himselfe, to prove that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are in *Scripture* the same, to let fall words that should confute his owne proposition: whereas therefore S. *Jerome* saith, that *after men began to say, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, &c. it was decreed that one of the Presbyters should be set over the rest, &c.* This is spoken indeed in the *Apostles phrase*, but *not of the Apostles times*: else to what purpose is that coacervation of Texts that followes.

But suppose it should be granted to be of Apostolicall Antiquitie (which yet we grant not, having proved the contrary) yet it appeares, it was not of *Apostolicall invention*, but of *Diabolicall occasion*: And though the Devill by kindling Divisions in the Church, did minister *Occasion* to the invention of the Primacy or Prelacy of one for the suppressing of Schisme; yet there is just cause to thinke, that the Spirit of God in his Apostles was never the Author of this invention.

Fifth, Because wee reade in the Apostles dayes there were Divisions, *Rom.* 16. 7. and Schismes, 1 *Cor.* 3. 3. & 11. 18. yet the Apostle was not directed by the holy Ghost to Ordaine Bishops for the taking away of those Divisions; Neither in the Rules he prescribes for the healing of those breaches, doth he mention *Bishops* for that end: Nor in the Directions given to *Timothy* and *Ti-* 1

tus

tus for the *Ordination of Bishops or Elders*, doth he mention this as one end of their *Ordination*, or *our peculiar dutie of their office*. And though the Apostle saith, *Oportet hæreses inter vos esse, ut qui probati sunt manifesti fiant inter vos*; yet the Apostle no where saith, *Oportet Episcopos esse, ut tollantur hæreses, quæ manifestæ sunt.*

2. Secondly, Because as Doctor *Whitaker* saith, the Remedy devised hath proved worse then the disease, which doth never happen to that remedy whereof the holy Ghost is the Author.

3. Thirdly, Because the holy Ghost, who could foresee what would ensue thereupon, would never ordaine that for a Remedy, which would not onely be ineffectuall to the cutting off of evill, but become a sturrup for Antichrist to get into his saddle. For if there be a necessitie of setting up one *Bishop* over many *Presbyters* for preventing schismes, there is as great a necessitie of setting up one *Archbishop over many Bishops*, and one *Patriarch over many Archbishops*, and one *Pope over all*, unlesse men will imagine, that there is a danger of schisme only among *Presbyters*, and not among *Bishops and Archbishops*, which is contrary to *Reason, Truth, History*, and our own *Experience*.

And lest our adversaries should appeale from *Hierome* as an incompetent Iudge in this case, because a Presbyter, and so a party, we will therefore subjoyne the judgement of other ancient Fathers, who were themselves Bishops.

The Commentaries that goe under the name of Saint *Ambrose* upon *Ephes.* 4. mention another occasion of this Discrimination or Priority; and that was [a] the increase and dilatation of the Church, upon occasion whereof they did ordaine Rectors or Governours, and other officers in the Church; yet this he grants, that this did differ from the former orders of the Church, and from the Apostolicall Writ.

a *At ubi omnia Loca Circumplexa est Ecclesia, Conventicula constituta sunt: & cæperunt Rectores: & Cætera Officia in Ecclesiis sunt ordinata. Capit alio ordine & Providentia gubernari Ecclesia. Ideo non per omnia conveniunt Scripta Apostoli ordinationi, quæ nunc in Ecclesia est, quia hæc inter ipsa primordia scripta sunt. Nam & Timotheum à se Presbyterum Creatum Episcopum vocat, &c. Sed quia cæperunt sequentes Presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenendos, immutata est ratio, &c.*

And

And this Rectorship or Priority was devolved at first from one Elder to another by Succession, when hee who was in the place was removed, the next in order among the Elders Succeeded. But this was afterwards changed, and that unworthy men might not bee preferred, it was made a matter of election, and not a matter of Succession. Thus much we finde concerning the occasion of this imparity, enough to shew, it is not of Divine Authority.

For the second thing, the persons who brought in this Imparity, the same Authours tells us: the Presbyters themselves brought it in; witnesse *Hierome ad Evag.* *Alexandriæ Presbyteri unum ex se electum in Excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus Imperatorem faceret, aut Diaconi de se Archidiaconum.* The Presbyters of *Alexandria* did call him their *Bishop*, whom they had chosen from among *themselves*, and placed in a higher degree, as if an army should make an Emperour, or the Deacons an Archdeacon. *Hierom ad Evag.*

Ambrose upon the fourth of the *Ephesians* tells us, it was done by *a Councell*, and although hee neither name the Time nor place of the *Councell*, yet ascribing it to a *Councell* hee grants it not to be Apostolicall: this gave occasion to others to fixe it upon Custome as *Hieronym.* in *Tit.* and *August. epist.* 19. *secundum honorum vocabula quæ Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit Episcopatus Presbyterio major est.* And had that ~~ordo~~ or Prelacie had the Seale and confirmation of *Divine* or *Apostolicall Authority*, *Gregory Nazianzene* would never in such a Patheticke manner have wished the Abolition of it, as hee doth in his 28. Oration. *Ambros. ubi prius.* *Grego. Naz. Orat. 28.*

And now *where is that acknowledgement, and conveyance of Imparitie and Iurisdiction which* saith this Remonstrant *was derived from the Apostles hands, and deduced in an uninterrupted line, unto this day: where is it?* we find no such *Imparity delivered from Apostolicall hands*, nor *acknowledged* in Apostolicall writings; yet had there *beene such an acknowledgement and conveyance of imparity*: how this should have *Pag. 21. 22.*

beene deduced to us in an uninterrupted Line, wee know not, unlesse our *Bishops* will draw the Line of *their Pedigree* through the *loynes of Antichrist*, and *joyne issue*, and *mingle blood with Rome*: which it seemes they will rather doe then lose this plea for their *regnum regulæ*: *their tyrannicall prerogative*, as *Nazianzen* calls it.

Greg. Nazi. vbi prius.

Suffer us therefore humbly to appeale to your Honours, whether this Remonstrant hath not given sentence against himselfe, who is so confident of the Evidence of his cause, that he doth not feare to say, if there can be better *Evidence under Heaven for any matter of fact then there is*

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for his Episcopacy: LET EPISCOPACY BE FOR EVER ABANDONED OVT OF THE CHVRCH OF GOD.

SECT. VII.

YEt it seemes himselfe in the height of his confidence was not without Jelousies, of some thing might be spoken against his Cause, therefore he seemes to heare, what is spoken against it.

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That the Apostles Bishops and ours are one: there was no other then a Parochiall Pastor, a Preaching Presbyter without superiority, without any Rule over his brethren. Our claime an eminent Superiority, and a power of Ordination and Iurisdiction unknowne to the Primitive times.

That this which hee supposeth hee heares us say is Scripture Truth we have shewed already, see that there *was a parity between Presbyters and Bishops*: and that *eminent superiority and power of Ordination and Iurisdiction which our Bishops claime*, was unknowne to Scripture, and are now prepared by *Gods assistance* to prove, it was unknowne to primitive times.

But how doth this Remonstrant meete with this Reply? ALAS! HOW GOOD PEOPLE may be abused by misinformation! It seemes the man judged this Reply so poore as in his thoughts it was more worthy of his *pitty*, then *of his paines* to answer, or rather knew

Pag. 23.

there

there will more in this Reply, then hee knew how to answer, and therefore waves it with his *Rethoricke*.

And this we rather thinke, because hee knowes but little in *Antiquity*, that knowes not, that there is so vast a difference betweene our Bishops, and those that were not onely in the Apostles dayes (whom wee have proved to be undistinguished from Presbyters) But those Bishops that were in the Church 400 yeares after, when there began to bee some discrimination, that *Episcopacy* may well be likened to the Shippe *Argo*, that was so often repaired, as there was nothing left of the *First Materialls*; yet still it challenged *the first Name*.

Which difference we spread before your Honours in three particulars: first in point of Election to their office; secondly, in point of Execution of their office; thirdly, in point of state-Imployment.

First (having discovered already upon what *occasion* this priority began to have existence in the Church, and from whom it first received its being, not from *God* but from *Consent* and *Custome* of the *Churches*, according to *Ambrose*, *Ierom*, *Augustine*, *&c.*) Wee come now to Declare what was the manner of Election unto this Priorities in these times, and to shew first, how therein these Bishops did differ from ours: for all their Elections were ordered by the privity, consent, and approbation of *the people*, where the *Bishops* was to serve. Were there no other Authours to make this good, *Cyprian* alone would doe it, among other places let his 68. Epistle witnesse, where he saith [a] *plebs Maxime habet potestatem, &c.* The people specially have power either of chusing worthy Priests, or rejecting the unworthy: for this is derived from *Divine Authority*, that the Priests should bee chosen in the presence of the people, before all their eyes and

[a] *Plebs ipsa Maximè habet potestatem vel Eligendi. Dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi, quod & ipsum Videmus de Divina Authoritate descendere: ut sacerdos plebe presente sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atque Idoneus publico Iudicio ac testimonio comprobetur.* By Priests the Authour here understands Bishopps, as the whole Series of the Epistle shewes.

approved as fit and worthy by their publike vote and Testimony. This hee proves by the Testimonie of Sacred writ both Old and New. Where wee observe first,

1. that the speciall power of Judging of the worthinesse or

2. unworthinesse of a man for the Prelacy was in the breast of the People. Secondly, the speciall power of choosing or rejecting to his place according as they Judged him worthy or unworthy resided in the People. *Plebs maximè Habet potestatem, &c.* Thirdly, that this power did descend upon the People *De Divina Authoritate.*

3.

Nor was this the Judgement of one Sole man, but of an *Affrican* Synod consulted by the Spanish Churches in point of Election, as the inscription of the Epistle shewes.

[a] The Obtrusion of a Bishop upon the Church of *Alexandria* without the Presence, desire and vote of the Clergie or People is Condemned by *Athanasius* not onely as a breach of Canon, but as a Transgression of Apostolicall prescript, and that it did compell or necessitate the heathen to blaspheme.

a Κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς κανόνας, καὶ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ παύλου ῥῆμα, —— πάντα καιρικῶς ἐξετασθῆναι τε, καὶ πεχθῆναι, παρόντων τῶν ἀτιμώτων λαῶν καὶ κληρικῶν, —— τοῦτο δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικὰς κανόνας παραλύσει, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη βλασφημεῖν ἀναγκάζει. *Athanas. Epist. ad Orthodoxos.*

Nor did onely *Christian Bishops*, but *Christian Princes* acknowledge the Right and power of Election of Bishops to be in the People; so that *admired Constantine* the great Promover and Patron of the peace of the *Christian Church* writing to the Church of *Nicomedia* against *Eusebius* and *Theognius*, tells them the ready way to lay asleepe the Tumults that did then disturbe the Church about the Election of a Bishop was, *si modo Episcopum fidelem & integrum nacti fuerint, quod quidem in praesentia in vestrâ situm est potestate, quodque etiam dudùm penes vestrum Iudicium fuerat, nisi Eusebius de quo dixi pravo eorum, qui eum juverunt Consilio hâc praceps ruisset & rectum Eligendi Ordinem impudenter conturbasset. Gelas in Act. Concil. Nicen. part.* 3. if they would get a faithfull and upright Bishop which

which ſaith he, is in *your power preſently to doe*; and was long agoe, if *Euſebius* with the ayd of his faction, had not ruſhed in upon you, and impudently diſturbed the *right Order of Election*.

That which this ſacred Emperour calls the *right order of Election*; what is it but the Election by the people? in whoſe power, he ſaith, it then was and long had beene to chooſe a *Biſhop*: and by whoſe power the next *Biſhop* was choſen. So the ſame Author tells us, that after *Euſebius* and *Theognius* were caſt out of their ſeverall ſeats for *Arianiſme*, by the Councell of *Nice*, others were appointed in their roomes by the *Clergy and people* of each Dioceſſe. *Idem ubi ſupra.*

To this Election in *Nicomedia*, wee could (if it were needfull in ſo cleare a Truth) adde many the like Preſidents of popular Elections; which for brevities ſake, we paſſe over. Not queſtioning, but that which hath beene ſpoken, is ſufficient to informe the intelligent Reader, that our Biſhops and the Biſhops of former times, are TVVO *in point of Election*. *Cyprian, Cornelius, Athanaſius,* and others.

SECT. VIII.

A Second thing wherein we have undertaken to *ſhew*, that our *Biſhops* and the *Biſhops* of former times, are TVVO, is in the Execution of their Office: and here there are three things, wherein he that will not *wilfully ſhut his eyes againſt all light*, may ſee a Latitude of *difference* betweene ours and former Biſhops. Firſt, in that *Sole Iuriſdiction* which our Biſhops aſſume to themſelves. Secondly, in the *Delegation* they make of the *power of exerciſing* this Iuriſdiction unto others. Thirdly, in the *way of the exerciſe of that power*.

For the firſt of theſe, *Their ſole Iuriſdiction*; That our *Biſhops* aſſume this to themſelves, it is *knowne* and *felt*, and that this *Sole Iuriſdiction* was a *ſtranger*, a *Monſter* to former times, wee ſhall now prove, and make cleare, that the power of *Ordination*, *Admonition*, *Excommunication*,

Absolution, was not in the hands of any sole man.

Cypr. Epist. 33. First, for *Ordination*, *Cyprian* in his exile writing to his Charge, certifies them, that *Aurelius was ordained by him and his Colleagues, who were present with him*; who were these Colleagues, but his Presbyters? as he himselfe expounds it, writing to *Lucius* in his owne name, and the *Epist. 58.* name of his Clergie and people, *Ego & Collega & fraternitas omnis, &c.* I and my Colleagues and my whole people send these Letters to you, &c. So that it is cleare in *Cyprians* time, *Presbyters* had a hand in *Ordination*, and *Bishops* did not Ordaine alone. *Firmilianus* saith of them *apud Cypr. Epist. 75.* that rule in the Church, *Quod baptizandi, MANUM IMPONENDI ET ORDINANDI, possident potestatem.* And who those be, he expresseth a little before, *SENIORES & Præpositi*: by whom the *Presbyters* as well as the *Bishops* are understood.

And as these places prove, that *Bishops* in the Primitive time, could not ordaine alone without the *Presbyters*; so there are that give us light to understand, that the *Presbyters* might ordaine without the *Bishop*. The Author of the Comment upon the *Ephesians*, that goes under the name of *Ambrose*, saith, *Apud Ægyptum Presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit Episcopus, In Egypt the Presbyters ordaine, if the Bishop be not present*, so saith *Augustine* in the same words; and the Chorepiscopus, who was but a Presbyter, had power to impose hands, and to ordaine within his precincts, with the Bishops Licence. Now *Licences* conferre not a *power* to him that hath it not, but onely *a facultie to exercise that power he hath*.

Cum jure divino non sint diversi gradu Episcopi et Pastores: Manifestum est ordinationem in suâ Ecclesiâ factam JVRE DIVINO RATAM esse. Itaque cum Episcopi ordinarii fiant hostes Ecclesiæ aut nolunt ordinationē impertire, Ecclesia retinet jus suum. Melanch. ubi supra, pag. Concil. Antioc. Can. 10. & Ancyr. Can. 13.

The Iniquitie of our times hath beene such, that a Minister may not *Preach* to his owne flocke, without a *Licence*: doth this Licence *make a man a Minister*, and give him *power to preach*, or onely a *facultie* and *libertie* to exercise that power? Should a Bishop give a *Laike* a *Licence* to preach, or to ordaine, doth that Licence make him a Minister, or a Bishop? Sure all will say, no: why? because in the Laike there is not *Actus primus*, the roote and principle of that power, which Licence onely opens a way

a way to the exercise of; and therefore that must be concluded to be in those Chorepiscopi, or Presbyters, by vertue of their place and calling, and not by vertue of a Licence. So that the *power of Ordination* was so far from residing in the *Bishop* alone, as that the *Presbyters* and *Chorepiscopi* had power to ordaine as well as he.

Neither was this onely a matter of *Ecclesiasticall Custome*, but of *Ecclesiasticall Constitution*, which binds the *Bishop*;

First, in all his Ordinations to consult with his Clergie; *Ut Episcopus sine Consilio Clericorum suorum Clericos non ordinet*; *That the Bishop shall not ordaine a Clergie man without the counsell of the Clergie*; this was *Cyprians* practice, *Epist.* 33. *Concil. 4. Carthag. Can.* 22.

Secondly, in his Ordinations to take the concurrent assistance of his Presbyters; *Cum ordinatur Presbyter, Episcopo eum benedicente, & manum super caput ejus tenente; etiam omnes Presbyteri qui praesentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius teneant*; When a Presbyter is ordained, the Bishop blessing him, and holding his hand upon his head, *all the Presbyters* that are present, shall likewise lay their hands upon his head, with the hands of the Bishop. In which Canon we have the unanimous vote of two hundred and fourteene Bishops, declaring that the power of *Ordination* is in the hands of Presbyters as well as Bishops. 2. *Ibid. Can.* 3.

And whereas it may be objected, that *Hierome*, and *Chrysostome*, affirming Bishops to differ from Presbyters in the power of Ordination; seeme to imply, that that power is soly theirs: Little we desire it may be observed; *Hieronym. in Epist. ad Evag. Chrysost. Hom.* 11. *in* 1. *ad Tim.*

First, That the Fathers put all the difference that lyes betweene Bishops and Presbyters, to be in point of Ordination. *Quid facit Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter excepta Ordinatione.* And therefore *Chrysostome* himselfe confesseth, that in his dayes there was little or no difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter. *Inter Episcopum et Presbyterum interest fermè nihil, &c.* *Chrysost.* upon the 1 *Tim.* 3.

Secondly, That this difference is not so to be understood, as if these Fathers did hold it to be by divine right (as *Bellarmine* and our Episcopall men would make us believe) but by a humane constitution. And therefore they doe not speake *De jure*, but *de facto*, *Quid facit, &c.* not *quid debet facere*. And this *Hierom* confesseth. So *Leo prim. ep.* 88. upon complaints of unlawfull Ordinations, writing to the Germane and French Bishops, *Libro de septem Ordinibus.*

shops, reckens up what things are reserved to the Bishops A-
mong which he sets downe *Presbyterorum & Diaconorum con-*
secratio, and then addes, *Quæ omnia solis deberi summis Pontifi-*
cibus Authoritate Canonum præcipitur. So that for this power of
Ordination, they are more beholden to the Canon of the
Church, then to the Canon of Gods Word.

Concil. Aquisgra. 1. Can. 8. Solum propter-authoritatem Clericorum ordinatio et consecratio reservata est summo Sacerdoti.

Thirdly, We answer that this very humane difference was
not in the first Primitive Antiquitie. It was not so in *Cyprians*
time, as we even now shewed. And when it did prevaile it was
but a particular custome (and sometimes usurpation) of some
Churches. For it was otherwise appointed in the Councell of
Carthage, and in Egypt, and other places, as is declared in the
former part of this section; And even in *Chrysostomes* time, it
was so little approved of, that it was one great accusation a-
gainst *Chrysostome* himselfe, *That he made Ordinations without*
the Presbytery, and without the consent of his Clergy. This is quo-
ted by Bishop *Downam, lib. 1. cap. 8. pag. 176.*

Sect. IX.

Bilson. Spalat. Franc. à Sancta Clara.

NOr had the *Bishops* of former times more right to the
power of *sole Iurisdiction*, then of *sole Ordination*: And
here we have *confitentem reum*, our very Adversaries confesse
the Votes of Antiquitie are with us.

Cyp. Epist. 6. & 28.

Cyprian professeth, that *he would doe nothing without the Cler-*
gie; nay, *he could doe nothing without them*; nay, *he durst not*
take upon him alone to determine that which of *right did belong*
to all: and had he or any other done so, the fourth Councell
of Carthage condemnes the Sentence of the Bishop, as *Irrita*
nisi Clericorum sententiâ confirmetur.

Concil. 4. Carthag. Can. 23. Vid. Ruff. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 9. Sozo li. 2. c 23. Possidon. de vita Aug. c. 4. Orig. Hom. 11. in Exo. pag. 97. 1.

Would yee know the particulars, wherein the Bishops had
no power of Judicature without their Presbyters.

Decret. part. 2. Can. 15. qua. 7. Per totum & parte 1. Dist. 93. cap. 5, 6. 2.

First, in judging and censuring Presbyters themselves, and
their Doctrine; For this the Canon Law in *Gratian* is full and
cleare: *Episcopus non potest Iudicare Presbyterum vel Diaconum*
sine Synodo & Senioribus. Thus *Basil* counselled and practised,
epist. 75. So *Ambr. lib. 10. epist. 80. Cyrill in epist. ad Iohannem*
Antiochen. thus *Gregory ad Iohan. Panormitan. lib. 11. epist. 49.*

Clem. Alex. Strowat. lib. 7.

Secondly, in judging of the Conversation or Crimes
of any of the members of the Church: *Penes Presbyteros*
est Disciplina qua facit homines meliores; That Discipline
that workes *emendation* in men, is in the power of the
Elders.

Elders. And therefore when any was queſtioned in point of converſation, hee was brought, ſaith *Tertullian*, into the *Congregation* where were *Exhortations*, *Caſtigations*, and *Divine cenſures*; And who had the chiefe ſtroke in theſe Cenſures, he tells us after: *Præſident probati quique ſeniores*; *All the approved Elders ſit as Preſidents*. *Tertull. Apol. adverſ. Gent.*

And thoſe cenſures that paſſed by the whole Presbytery were more approved by the *Church* in Ancient times, then ſuch as were paſſed by one man; for we finde that when *Syagrius* and *Ambroſe* paſſed Sentence in the ſame caſe, the *Church* was unſatisfied in the Sentence of *Syagrius*, becauſe hee paſt it *ſine alicujus fratris Conſilio*, without the counſell or conſent of any of his *Brethren*. But were pacifyed with the ſentence of Saint *Ambroſe*: becauſe ſaith hee, *hoc Judicium Noſtrum cum fratribus & conſacerdotibus participatum proceſſerit*. *Ambroſ. Epiſt. ad Syagrium.*

Nor was there any kinde of cenſures that the Biſhops did adminiſter alone: Admonitions were given by the *Elders*; *Auguſtine* tells us the Elders did admoniſh ſuch as were offenders, to the ſame purpoſe ſpeakes *Origen Contra Celſum. Lib.* 3. *Aug. de verb. Apoſt. Ser.* 19.

[a] So excommunication, though that being the dreadfulleſt thunder of the Church: and as *Tertullian* calles it, *ſummum præjudicium futuri Iudicij*, the great forerunner of the Judgement of God was never vibrated but by the hand of thoſe that laboured in the word and Doctrine: yet was no one man in the Church inveſted with this power more then another.

Therefore ſaith [b] *Hierom*; *Presbytero ſi peccavero licet me tradere ſatanæ in interitum carnis*. If I ſinne, a Presbyter (not a Biſhop onelv) may deliver me to Satan, to the deſtruction, &c. where the Reader may pleaſe to take notice that Saint *Hierom* ſpeakes not of one particular Presbyter, but of the Order of *Presbyters*.

The ſame S. *Hierom* ſaith againe, *Sunt quos Eccleſia reprehendit, quos interdum abjcit, in quos nonunquam Epiſcoporum & Clericorum cenſura deſævit*. There be ſome whom the Church reprooves, and ſome which ſhe caſts out; againſt *Ep. ad Demet.*

a *Conſtat, Furisdictionem illam excommunicandi reos manifeſtorum criminum pertinere ad omnes Paſtores hanc ad ſe ſolos tyrannicé tranſtulerunt, et adquæſtum contulerunt Epiſcopi, Melanc. ubi ſup.*

b *Hieron. Epiſt. ad Heliodor.*

whom the censures of *Bishops and Presbyters* sharpely proceed; where wee see, the Censures whereby wicked men were cast out of the Church, were not in the sole hands of the Bishops, but likewise in the hands of Presbyters.

Syricius Bishop of *Rome* signifies to the Church of *Millaine*, that *Jovinianus, Auxentius, &c.* were cast out of the Church for ever, and he sets downe how they did it. *Omnium Nostrum tam Presbyterorum quam Diaconorum, quam totius etiam cleri scisitata fuit sententia.* There was a concurrence of all Presbyters, Deacons, and the whole Clergie in that sentence of Excommunication.

Ambros. lib. 10. Epist. 80.

The truth herein may be further evidenced by this, because the whole Clergie as well as the Bishops imposed hands upon such, as repenting were absolved: *Nec ad communicationem* (saith *Cyprian*) *venire quis possit, nisi prius ab Episcopo & Clero Manus illi fuerit imposita:* No man that hath beene excommunicated might returne to Church-Communion, before hands had beene laid upon him by the Bishop and Clergie.

Cypr. Epist. 12. And this was the custome saith *Cyprian* in *minoribus delictis.*

Also writing to his Clergie concerning lapsed Christians, he tells them, *Exomologesi facta & manu eis a vobis in paenitentiam impositâ, &c.* that after confession and the *laying on their hands*, they might bee commended unto God: so when certaine returning from their heresie were to bee received into the Church at *Rome* in the time of *Cornelius*, they came before the *Presbytery*, and there confessed their sinnes, and so were admitted.

Cypr. Epist. 46. vide etiam Cypr. Epist. 6.

But though the sentence of Excommunication was managed onely by the hand of those that laboured in the Word and Doctrine, yet we will not conceale from you, that neither Excommunication nor absolution did passe without the *knowledge and approbation* of the body of the Church, to which the Delinquent did belong.

Tertul. Apol. adver. Gent. cap. 39.

So we have learned out of *Tertullian*, that their censures were ordered in their publike assemblies; and good reason, because the people were to forbeare communion with such. 2 *Thes.* 3. 6, 14, 15. and publicke censures of the

the Church to cut off a ſcandalous Presbyter: making the caſe his owne he ſaith thus: *in uno conſenſu Eccleſia univerſa conſpirans excidat me dextram ſuam & projciat a ſe*, hee would have the conſent of the whole Church in that Act. Origen. Hom. 7. in Ioſh.

And when the lapſed Christians were received againe into the Church, the Peoples conſent was required therein; elſe why ſhould *Cyprian* ſay, *vix plebi perſuadeo imò extorqueo ut tales patiantur admitti*: I can ſcarſe perſwade the people to ſuffer ſuch to bee admitted: and in another Epiſtle written to his people in his Baniſhment, hee promiſeth to examine all things, they being preſent and judging. *Examinabuntur ſingula præſentibus & Judicantibus vobis.* Cypr. Epiſt. 55. Cypr. Epiſt. 12. ad plebem.

But of this power of the People we ſhall have a further occaſion to ſpeake afterwards, when wee come to diſcourſe of *Governing Elders*.

Onely may it pleaſe your Honours from hence to take notice, how unjuſtly our Biſhops have invaded this right and power of Presbyters and people in Church cenſures, and deveſting both of it, have girt it wholy upon themſelves, and how herein they and the Biſhops of former times are TWO.

Sect. X.

AND as our Biſhops, and the Biſhops of former times are TWO in point of *Sole Juriſdiction*, ſo alſo in the *Delegation* of this power of *Juriſdiction* unto others: to their Chancellours, Commiſſioners, Officers, &c. Was ever ſuch a thing as this heard of in the beſt primitive Times? that *men that never received Impoſition of hands*, ſhould not onely be received into aſſiſtance, but bee *wholy intruſted with the power of Spirituall Juriſdiction*: Even

a *Indecorũ eſt Laicum vicarium eſſe Epiſcopi, & ſeculares in Eccleſiâ judicare: in uno enim eodemque opere non decet diſpar profeſſio quodetiam in lege Divina prohibetur dicente Moſe, Non arabis in bove & aſino ſimul*, Concil. Hiſpal. 2.

then when it is to be exercised over *such persons as have had hands laid upon them.*

We may observe in *Cyprian*, whilst persecution separated him from his Church, when questions did arise among his people, he doth not send them to his Chancellour or Commissary; No he was so farre from substituting any man (much lesse a *lay man*) to determine or give Iudgement in such cases, that hee would not assume that power wholy to himselfe, but suspends his Iudgement, till the hand of God should restore him to his Church againe, that with the advice and Counsel of the Presbyters, he might give sentence, as may appeare to any that shall peruse his Epistles.

Sure if God had ever led his Church to such a way of deputation, it would have beene in such a case of Necessitie as this was: or had any footsteps of such a course as this beene visible by this holy Martyr in the going of former ages, he needed not have deferred the determination of the question about the receiving of some penitent lapsed ones into the bosome of the Church againe, till his returne and the returne of his Clergie, as he doth.

Cyp. Epist. 28 We will instance in his 28. Epistle, wherein giving direction for the excommunicating of such as would rashly communicate with lapsed Christians, he gives this charge not to his *Chancellor or Commissary*, or any other man upon whom hee had devolved his power, and set him as his *Deputy or Vicar generall* in his absence, but *ad clerum*, to the whole Presbytery.

This Truth is so cleare, that Bishop *Downame* the great Advocate of Episcopacy confesseth, that in *Ambrose* his time and a good while after (which was about 400 yeres) till the Presbyters were in a manner wholy neglected, the Bishops had no *Ordinaries*, *Vicars*, *Chancellors*, or *Commissaries*, that were not *Clergie men*; but this is but a *blind*, wherewith the Bishop would Dorre his Reader, for wee challenge any man to produce the names of any *Clergie man* that was Vicar to *Ambrose*, or Chancellour to *Augustine*, or any other of the Bishops of these times; so that

Downam in the defence of his Sermon *li.* 1. *cap.* 8.

that herein our Biſhops and theirs are TWO.

SECT. XI.

A Third branch wherein the difference betweene our Biſhops and the Biſhops of former times, in point of Exerciſing their Juriſdiction is viſible, is the *way* or *manner* of exerciſing that power.

For brevities ſake wee will onely inſtance in their proceedings in Cauſes Criminall; where let them tell us, whether any good *Antiquitie* can yeeld them one Preſident for THEIR OATH EX OFFICIO, which hath beene to their COURTS, as *Purgatory fire to the Popes Kitchin*: they have forgotten that old Maxime in the Civill Law, *Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum*, which as it is grounded upon naturall equitie, ſo it is confirmed by a Law enacted by *Dioclesian* and *Maximilian*, *Nimis grave eſt quod petitis, &c. It is too grievous that the adverſe part ſhould be required to the exhibition of ſuch things as ſhould create trouble to themſelves. Underſtand therefore that you ought to bring proofes of your intentions, and not to extort them from your adverſaries againſt themſelves.* *Cod. li. 4. Tit. 20. L. 7.*

Shall the Lamp of Nature in the night of Ethniciſme inable Heathen Princes, (yea Perſecutours) to ſee and enact thus much, and ſhall not the glorious Sunne of the Goſpell, convince theſe of their iniquities in tranſgreſſing this Law, that call themſelves *the Fathers of the Church?*

If neither the *light of Nature*, nor *Goſpell light* can, yet the Cuſtome of the Church, to which they ſo oft appeale, may both convince them of this iniquitie, and diſcover to all the world the contrarietie of their proceedings, to the proceedings of former times, in this particular.

For *of Old*, both the Plaintife and Defendant were brought face to face, before the parties, in whoſe power it was to judge: which way of proceeding, *Athanaſius* affirmes to be according to Scripture, the Law of God. And becauſe thoſe that condemned *Macarius*, did not thus *Athan. Apol. 2.*

thus proceed, he condemnes their Sentence as malicious and unjuſt.

Of old, no Sentence paſſed againſt any man, but upon the Teſtimony of other witneſſes beſides the Accuſers: after Complaint exhibited, the firſt thing they applied themſelves to, was to conſider the perſon and qualitie of the *Accuſer*, *Concil. prim. Conſtant. Can.* 6. Then they heard the *Witneſſes*, who were two at leaſt, *Can. Apoſt. Can.* 75. And theſe *witneſſes* muſt be ſuch, as might not be imagined to be *partiall*, not to beare enmity nor malice againſt the party accuſed. *Ambroſ. Epiſt.* 64. ſo *Gratian*, *Caus.* 3. *qu.* 5. *cap. Quod ſuſpecti.*

Apud Zonaram.

Of Old, None might be *party*, *witneſſe*, and *Iudge*, which *Gratian* proves at large, *Cauſ.* 4. *qu.* 4. *cap. Nullus unquam præſumat accuſator ſimul eſſe, & Index & teſtis.*

We grant indeed the *Canon Law* permits in ſome caſes Tryall without *witneſſes*: *Si crimen ita publicum eſt, ut meritò debeat appellari notorium*; If the crime be ſo publique, that it may deſervedly be called *Notorious*. Which Law further determines what is notorious, ſaying, *Offenſam illam nos intelligimus manifeſtam, quæ vel per confeſſionem vel probationem legitimè nota fuerit, aut evidentiâ Rei, quæ nullâ poſſet tergiverſatione celari*; Wee count that offence manifeſt, which either by confeſſion, or by lawfull proofe comes to be knowne, or by evidence of fact, ſo as it can be hid by no tergiverſations.

Greg. Decret. lib. 2. *Tit.* 2. *cap.* 8. *quæ vos.*

Decret. Greg. Lib. 5. *Tit.* 4. *cap.* 24.

So that all was done in former times with mature *deliberation*, upon *examination* and *evidence* produced, and proved by ſuch *witneſſes*, as againſt whom the *defendant* could lay in no juſt *exception*. And not as now an *accuſation* whiſpered againſt a man, *he knows not by whom*, to which he muſt take his *Oath* to anſwer, before *he knowes what his accuſation is*. Which Oath, if he takes, *without further witneſſe* he is cenſured upon the *witneſſe of his owne Oath*. If he takes it not, he is ſent preſently *to priſon*, there to lie without *Baile* or *Mainprize*, till the inſupportable miſeries of his long durance, compell him to take an *Oath* againſt *Nature*, *Scripture*, *Conſcience*, and the *juſt Defence of his owne innocency*.

That

That our Bishops therefore and former Bishops are *Two*, in the point of executing their Judicatory power, we need spend no more time to prove. But come to the third thing, in which the difference betweene ours and former Bishops is to be evidenced.

Sect. XII.

AND that is State Imployment, or attendance upon Civill and secular affaires, &c. which both Christ and Saint *Paul* prohibites, which prohibition reacheth every Bishop (to speake in *Chrysostomes* words) as well as *Timothy*, to whom it is directed; *Nullus ergo Episcopatu praditus hæc audire detrectet, sed agere ea omnia detrectet*; Let no man that is a Bishop, refuse to heare what the Apostle saith, but to doe what the Apostle forbids. *Chrysost. Hom. 40. in 2. Ti.*

Wee deny not but that Bishops were in the Primitive times often incumbred with secular busines; but these were put upon them, sometimes by Emperours, who sought the ruine of the Church, as *Iulian*, of whom *Niceph. lib. 10. cap. 13.* doth report, that in *Clerum coaptatos Senatorum munere & ministerio perversè fungi jussit.* Sometimes the gratious disposition of Princes towards Christian Religion, made them thus to honour Bishops, thinking thereby to advance Religion; as *Constantine* the Great enacted, that such as were to be tryed before Civill Magistrates, might have leave to appeale *ad Iudicium Episcoporum, atque eorum sententiam ratam esse tanquam ab ipso Imperatore prolatam*: And this the Historian reckoneth as one argument of his reverend respect to Religion Sometimes the excellency of their singular parts cast Civill dignities upon them. *Tiberius* granted a Questors *dignitie unto a Bishop for his eloquence. Chrysostome* for his notable stoutnesse and freedome of speech, was sent as the fittest man to *Gainas*, with the Emperours command. Sometimes the people observing the Bishops to be much honoured by the Emperour, would solliecte them to present their grievances to the Emperour. And sometimes the

Recording this among those things that he did *Dolo malo ducere.* κακοτεχνίας. *Sozom. 1. 9.*

Niceph. 18. 51.

the aspiring humour of the Bishops raised them to such
II. places, as appeales by *Cyrill*, who was the first Bishop in
Socra. 7. 7. *Alexandria*, who had civill dignities conferred upon him, as *Socrates* relates it, from whom Civill authoritie did descend upon succeeding Bishops. ἐξ ἐκείνου ἡ ἐπίσκοπὴ Ἀλεξανδρείας παρὰ τὴς ἱερατικὴς τάξεως καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν: of whom *Nicephorus* therefore recorded, *Episcopatum majori cum fastu, prophanorum Magistratuum more quam prædecessores ejus Episcopi, ingressus est, unde adeò initium sumptum est in Ecclesia Alexandrina ut Episcopi etiam profana negotia curarent*; He entred upon his Episcopacy with more pomp then his predecessors, with a pompe conformable to the Heathen Magistrates.

Both these *Historians* relate the sad consequence that
Soc. Li. 7. c. 19. followed upon this, that *Orestes* the *Roman Governour* seeing his power much weakened by the Bishops interposing in secular affaires, hated the *Bishop*; and this (as the Hi-
Niceph. L. 14. cap. 14. storian calls it) his *usurped power*.

This president of the Alexandrian Bishop, the Bishop of Rome did soone follow; *Et Romanus Episcopatus non aliter quam Alexandrinus, quasi EXTRA SACERDOTII FINES egressus ad secularem principatum erat jam delapsus*; The Bishop of Rome as well as the Bishop of Alexandria breaking the limits of the Priestly function, did degenerate into a secular Principalitie: which purchased no lesse envy to him then that to the other.

And though these two Bishops went at first abreast in this point, yet in a short time the *Roman* had outstripped the *Alexandrian* in that power, till the Church degenerating more and more, that *Roman Priest* advanced his power not onely above all the *Bishops*, but all the *Monarchs in the Christian Orbe*.

Yet notwithstanding, he that shall looke into the An-
I. cients, shall finde; first, that the best of them held, that they were not to be molested with the handling of worldly affaires, *Cyprian Epist. 66. 1. Singuli divino Sacerdotio honorati non nisi altari & sacrificiis deservire & precibus atq; oratio-*

orationibus vacare debent, Molestiis secularibus non sunt obligandi, qui divinis rebus & spiritualibus occupantur.

Secondly, that they complained of them as of heavie burthens. *Aug.* calles it *Angaria*, yea *Austin* himselfe in his 81. Epistle Complaines, that worldly businesse hindered his praying, and so pressed him, that *vix respirare potuit*; and *Gregory* the great *non sine dolore in secularibus versabatur, præfat. in Dial.* *Possidon. in vita August*

Thirdly, *Cyprian* construed it as one great cause of persecutions raised against the Church. *de lapsis, Sect. 4.*

Fourthly, it was much cryed downe as unlawfull by the holy Fathers, many Canons forbidding it, and that under paine of being removed from their places. Can. 6. Can. 81. he that did presume to administer Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν, a Romane command or Administration of Militarie affaires or civill place (as *Zonaras* there) hee should be deposed, *Can. Apo. Can.* 83. hiring of ground, medling with wordly affaires is to be laid aside by them, otherwise they are threatned to be liable to Ecclesiasticall censures, *Conc. Cal. Cano.* 3. *Conc. Carth. Can.* 16.

We will adde this for a conclusion in this point, it is observed by *Athanasius, Sulpitius, Severus*, and other Ecclesiastical historians, that the *Arians* were very expedite in worldly affaires, which experience they gained by their constant following and attendance upon the Emperours Court; and what troubles they occasioned to the Church thereby, is notoriously knowne to any that have seene the Histories of their times. And in this our Bishops have approved themselves more like to the *Arian* Bishops *then the purer Bishops of purer times*: but however cleare it is, that *our Bishops and the Bishops of former times are Two: Two in election to their office; Two in the discharge of their office; Two in their Ordination, Iurisdiction, processes, Censures, Administrations*, and the difference *betweene our Bishops and those of former times is greater then betweene the great Bishop of Rome and them.*

Sect. XIII.

But it seemes our Reasons are founded above those Bounds, even as high as the Apostles, for the Text saith, *If any Bishop challenge any power that is above a Bishop, that was by Apostolicall ordination or delegation, such as that of Timothy and Titus*, and the Angels of the seven Churches, let them be *DISCLAIMED as Usurpers*. And the truth is so they deserve to be, if they do but challenge the *same power* that the Apostle and delegate of Christ had in Ordination; for *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, and so moved in a Sphere above Bishops or Presbyters. For *Timothy* it is cleare from the Letter of the Text, 1 Tim. 4. 5. ἐργον ποίησον εὐαγγελιστου: *Doe the worke of an Evangelist*: if *Timothy* had beene but a Presbyter or Bishop, Paul had done well to have put him upon employment [illegible]. And to any man, that will but understand the difference between what the Office of an *Evangelist* was, and wherein it differed from the Office of a *Presbyter* or *Bishop*, it will be manifest that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangelists*, and no *Bishops*: for the title of *Evangelist* is taken two wayes; either for such as *wrote the Gospel*, and so we doe not affirme *Timothy* and *Titus* to be Evangelists; or else for such as *taught the Gospel*, and those were of two sorts, either such as had *ordinary places* and *ordinary offices*, or such whose *places* and *offices* were *extraordinary*; and such *Evangelists* were *Timothy* and *Titus*, and not *Bishops*, as will appeare if wee consider, what was the *Difference* between the *Evangelists* and *Bishops*. *Bishops* or *Presbyters* were tyed to the particular care and tuition of that flocke over which God had made them *Overseers*, *Acts* 20. 28. But *Evangelists* were not *tyed* to reside in *one particular place*, but did attend upon the *Apostles* by whose appointment they were sent *from place to place*, as the *necessity* of the *Churches* did require. As appeares first in *Timothy*, whom S. *Paul besought to abide at Ephesus*. 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. which had beene a needlesse importunity, if *Timothy* had had the *Episcopall* (that is the *Pastorall*) charge of *Ephe-*

a Let the Reader please to consult *Euseb. Hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 33. according to some, after others. *cap.* 37. and view the description, hee there makes of an Evangelist, and then judge of what we speake.

Ephesus commended to him by the Apostles, for then hee might be have laid as *Arcessitus ut Cliens* upon him to abide at *Ephesus*, as he doth to Preach the Gospel. But so farre was *Paul* from setting *Timothy in Cathedrâ* in *Ephesus*, that he rather continually sends him up and downe upon all Church services, for we finde *Act.* 17. 14. That when *Paul* fled from the tumults of *Berea* to *Athens*, he left *Silas* and *Timothy* behind him, who afterwards comming to *Paul* up *Athens*, *Paul* sends *Timothy* from *Athens* to *Thessalonica*, to confirme the *Thessalonians* in the faith, as appeares 1 *Thes.* 3. 1, 2. from whence returning to *Paul* to *Athens* againe, the Apostle *Paul* before hee left *Athens* & went to *Corinth*, sent him & *Silas* into *Macedonia*, who returned to him againe to *Corinth*, *Act.* 18. 5. afterwards they travelled to *Ephesus*, from whence we reade *Paul* sent *Timothy* and *Erastus* into *Macedonia*, *Act.* 19. 22. whether *Paul* went after them, & from whence they & divers other *Brethren* journied into *Asia*, *Act.* 20. 4. All which Brethren *Paul* calles, as it is probable, ἀποστόλους ἐκκλησιῶν, the messengers of the Churches, 2 *Cor.* 8. 23. And being thus accompanied with *Timothy* and the rest of the *Brethren* hee comes to *Miletum*, and calls the *Elders* of the Church of *Ephesus*, thither to him, of which Church had *Timothy* beene *Bishop*, the Apostle in stead of giving the *Elders a charge to feede the flocke of Christ* would have given that charge to *Timothy*, and not to them.

Anno, *Aerae Christi receptae*, 47.

Anno 48.

Anno 51.

Anno 53.

Anno 53

And secondly, *the Apostle* would not so have forgotten himselfe, as to call the *Elders* ἀνωτέρους, before their Bishops face.

Thirdly, It is to be conceived, the Apostles would have given them some *directions*, how to carry themselves towards their Bishop, but not a word of this, though *Timothy* were then *in Pauls* presence, and in the presence of the *Elders*. The cleare evidence of which Text *demonstrates*, that *Paul* did not leave *Timothy* at this *time* as *Bishop* of *Ephesus*. But it is rather *evident* that he tooke him along with him in his journey to *Hierusalem*, and so to *Rome*; for we finde that those *Epistles Paul* wrote while

he was a *prisoner*, beate either in their *inscription* or some other passage of them, the name of *Timothy*, as *Pauls* companion, *viz.* The Epistles to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Hebrewes*, *Philemon*, which Epistles he wrote in bonds as the conjecture, which those two learned professors the one at *Heydelberge*, the other at *Saulmur*, make of Saint *Pauls* Epistles doth declare.

Paræus.
Capellus.

So that it appeares that *Timothy* was no *Bishop* but a *Minister*, an *Evangelist*, a fellow *labourer* of the Apostles, 1 *Thes.* 3. 1. an *Apostle*, a *Messenger* of the *Church*, 2 Cor. 8. 3. 2 *Minister of God*, 1 Thes. 3. 2. these *titles* the Holy Ghost gives him, but never the title of a *Bishop*.

Hebr. 13. 23. We finde not onely that *Timothy* was with *Paul* at *Rome*, but a Prisoner with him there.

The like we finde in Scripture concerning *Titus*, whom *Paul* as it is conceived by *learned men* did first assume into the fellowship of his Labours in the place of *John*, and made him his companion in his journey through [a] *Antioch* to *Hierusalem*, [b] so we finde *Gal.* 2. 1. from thence returning to *Antioch* againe; from thence hee passed through *Syria* and *Cilicia*, confirming the *Churches*; & from *Cilicia* he passed to *Creet*, where having Preached the Gospel, and planted Churches, he left *Titus* [c] there *for a while, to set in order things that remaine.*

[a] *Anno* 43.
[b] *Anno* 45.
[c] *Anno* 46.

Yet it was *but for a while* he left him there, for in his Epistle which hee wrote to him not many yeares after, he injoynes him to come to him to *Nicopolis* [d] where he did intend to winter, but changing that purpose sends for him to *Ephesus*, where it seemes his Hyemall station was, and from thence sends him before him to *Corinth*, to enquire the state of the *Corinthians* [e]. His returne from thence *Paul* expects at *Troas* [f], and because comming thither he found not his *expectation* there, hee was so grieved in his spirit, 2 *Cor.* 2. 12. that hee passed presently from thence into *Macedonia*, where *Titus* met him, and in the midst of his afflictions joyed his spirits with the glad tydings of the powerfull and gratious effects, his first Epistle had among the *Corinthians*, 2 *Cor.* 7. 5. 6. 7. *Paul* having there collected the Liberalities of the Saint, sends *Titus*

[d] *Anno* 51.
[e] *Anno* 51.
[f] *Anno* 52.

againe to the *Corinthians*, to prepare them for the same service of Ministring to the necessities of the Saints, *2 Corinth.* 8. 6. And makes him with some others the Conveyers of that second Epistle to the *Corinthians*. [g] *Anno* 53.

All these journeys to and fro did *Titus* make at the designement of the *Apostle*, even after he was left in *Creet*. Nor doe we finde, that after his first removall from *Creet*, he did ever returne thither. We reade indeed, *2 Tim.* 4. 10. he was with *Paul* at *Rome*; and from thence returned not to *Creet*, but into *Dalmatia*. All which doth more then probably shew, it never was the *Intendment* of the *Apostle* to fix *Titus* in *Creet as a Bishop*, but onely to leave him there for a *season* for the good of *that Church*, and to call him from thence, and send him abroad to other Churches for their good, as their necessities might require. Now who that will acknowledge a *Distinction* between the *Offices of Bishops and Evangelists*, and knowes wherein that *Distinction lyes*, will not upon these premisses conclude that, *Timothy and Titus were Evangelists and NOT Bishops*. [h] *Anno* 64.

But some of the *Fathers* have called *Timothy and Titus Bishops*. We grant it true; and it is as true, that *some of the Fathers* have called them *Archbishops*, and *Patriarks*; yet it doth not follow, they were so. Wee adde, secondly, that when the Fathers did call them so, it was not in a *proper* but in an *improper* sense; which wee expresse in the words of our *Learned Orthodox Raynolds*;

You may learne by the Fathers themselves, saith he, that when they tearmed any Apostle a Bishop of this or that Citie (as namely Saint *Peter* of Antioch or Rome) they meant it in a generall sort and signification, because they did attend that Church for a time, and supply that roome in preaching the *Gospell*, which *Bishops* did after; but as the name of *Bishop* is commonly taken for the *Overseer* of a particular *Church*, and *Pastor* of a severall flocke; so *Peter* was not Bishop of any one place; therefore not of *Rome*. And this is true by *Analogy* of all extra- *Raynolds contra Hart. Ca. 6.*

ordinary Bishops; and the same may be said of *Timothy* and *Titus*, that he saith of *Peter*.

But, were it true that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops; will this Remonstrant undertake, that all his party shall stand to his Conditions? *If our Bishops challenge any other power then was by Apostolique Authoritie delegated to, and required of Timothy and Titus, and the Angells of the seaven Asian Churches, let them be disclaimed as usurpers.* Will our *Bishops* indeed stand to this? then *Actum est*: Did ever *Apostolique Authoritie* delegate power to *Timothy* or *Titus*, to ordaine alone? to governe alone? and doe not our Bishops challenge that power? Did ever *Apostolique Authoritie* delegate power to *Timothy* and *Titus*, to rebuke an *Elder*? no; *but to entreat him as a Father*: and doe not our *Bishops* challenge to themselves, and permit to their *Chancellours*, *Commissaries*, and *Officialls* power not onely to *rebuke an Elder*, but to *rayle upon an Elder*; to reproach him with the most opprobrious tearmes of *foole*, *knave*, *jack-sauce*, *&c.* which our paper blushes to present to your *Honours* view. Did ever *Apostolique Authoritie* delegate to *Timothy* and *Titus* power to receive an accusation against an *Elder*, but before two or three witnesses? and doe not our *Bishops* challenge power to proceed *Ex officio*, and make *Elders* their owne Accusers? Did ever *Apostolique Authoritie* delegate power to *Timothy* or *Titus*, to reject any after twice admonition, but an *Hereticke*? and doe not our *Bishops* challenge power to *reject* and *eject* the most *sound* and *orthodox* of our *Ministers*, for refusing the use of a *Ceremony*; as if *Non-conformitie* were *Heresie*. So that either our *Bishops must disclaime this Remonstrance*, or else *themselves* must be *disclaimed as usurpers*.

Pag. 23.

But if *Timothy* and *Titus* were no *Bishops*, or had not this power, it may be the *Angells* of the *seaven Asian Churches* had; and our *Remonstrant* is so subtile as to twist these two together, that if one fayle the other may hold.

1. To which we answer; first, that Angell in those Epistles is put *Collectively*, not *Individually*: as appeares by the *Epistle* to *Thyatira*, *cap.* 2. *vers.* 24. where wee reade

vide

ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, &c. But I ſay unto *you* (in the plurall number, not unto *thee* in the ſingular) *and unto the reſt in Thyatira, &c.* Here is a plaine diſtinction betweene the members of that Church. By *you*, is ſignified thoſe to whom he ſpake under the name of the Angell. By *the reſt*, the reſidue of the people. The people governed, and the governours in the plurall number. What can be more evident to prove, that by *Angel* is meant not one ſingular perſon, but the whole company of Presbyters that were in *Thyatira*.

This alſo further appeares, becauſe it is uſuall with the holy Ghoſt, not onely in other books of the Scripture, but alſo in this very booke of the *Revelation*, to expreſſe a company under one ſingular perſon. Thus the Civill ſtate of Rome, as oppoſite to Chriſt, is called, *A Beaſt with ten hornes*: and the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate Antichriſtian is called *The whore of Babylon*, and, *The falſe Prophet*: and the devill and all his family is called *An old red Dragon*. Thus alſo the ſeven Angels that blew the ſeven Trumpets, *Revel.* 8. 2. And the ſeven Angels that poured out the ſeven Vialls, are not literally to be taken, but Synecdochically, as all know. And why not then the ſeven Angels in thoſe Epiſtles? Maſter *Meed* in his Commentaries upon the *Revelation*, *pag.* 265. hath theſe words; *Denique (ut jam ſemel iterumq; monuimus) quoniam Deus adhibet Angelos providentiæ ſuæ in rerum humanarum motibus & converſionibus cientibus, gubernandiſque adminiſtros: idcirco, quæ multorum manibus peraguntur, Angelo tamen tanquam rei gerendæ præſidi & Duci pro communi loquendi modo tribuuntur.*

Adde, thirdly, that the very name *Angel* is ſufficient to prove, that it is not meant of one perſon alone, becauſe the word *Angel* doth not import any peculiar juriſdiction or prehemmence, but is a common name to all Miniſters, and is ſo uſed in Scripture. For all Miniſters are Gods Meſſengers and Embaſſadours, ſent for the good of the Elect. And therefore the name being common to all Miniſters, why ſhould we thinke that there ſhould be

any thing ſpoken to one Miniſter, that doth not belong to all? The like argument wee draw from the word *Starres*, uſed *Revel.* 1. 20. *The ſeven Starres are the Angels of the ſeven Churches.* Now it is evident, that all faithfull Miniſters are called Starres in Scripture, whoſe dutie is to ſhine as lights unto the Churches, in all puritie of doctrine and holineſſe of converſation. And in this ſence, the word is uſed, when it is ſaid, that *the third part of the ſtarres were darkened*, Revel. 8. 12. and that the *Dragons taile drew the third part of the ſtarres of heaven, and caſt them to the earth*, Revel. 12. 4. Which is meant not onely of Biſhops, but of other Miniſters, unleſſe the Biſhops will appropriate all corruption and Apoſtacy unto themſelves.

Adde, fourthly, out of the Text it ſelfe, It is very obſervable, that our Saviour in opening the myſtery of the Viſion, *Revel.* 1. 20. ſaith; *The ſeven Candleſtickes which thou ſaweſt, are the ſeven Churches*; but he doth not ſay, The ſeven ſtarres are the ſeven Angels of the ſame Churches, *But the Angels of the ſeven Churches*; wherein not without ſome myſtery the number of the Angels is omitted, leaſt we ſhould underſtand by Angel, one Miniſter alone, and not a company. And yet the ſeptenary number of Churches is twice ſet downe.

Laſtly, Though but one Angel be mentioned in the forefront, yet it is evident, that the Epiſtles themſelves are dedicated to all the Angels and Miniſters in every Church, and to the Churches themſelves. And if to the whole Church, much more to the Presbyters of that Church. This is proved *Revel.* 1. 11. *What thou ſeeſt write in a Booke, and ſend it to the ſeven Churches which are in Aſia.* And alſo by the Epiphonema of every Epiſtle; *He that hath an eare to heare, let him heare what the Spirit ſaith to the Churches.* Upon which words, *Ambroſius Ausbertus* in his ſecond booke upon the *Revelation*, ſaith thus; *Unâ eâdemque locutione & Angelos & Eccleſias unum eſſe deſignat. Nam cum in principio locutionum quæ ad ſeptem ſunt Angelos dicat, & Angelo illius Eccleſiæ ſcribe; in fine tamen earundem*

non

non dicit, qui habet aurem audiat quod ſpiritus dicat Angelo, ſed quid Eccleſia dicat. By one and the ſame phraſe of ſpeech he ſheweth, the Angels and the Churches to be one and the ſame. For whereas in the beginning of his ſpeech, which he makes to the ſeven Churches, he ſaith; *And write to the Angel of the Church*, yet in the cloſe of the ſame, he doth not ſay, He that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit ſaith to the Angel, but *what he ſaith to the Church.* And this is further proved by the whole argument of thoſe Epiſtles, wherein the admonitions, threatnings, commendations, and reproofes, are directed to all the Miniſters of all the Churches; *Revel.* 2. 10. *The devill ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon, &c.* Rev. 2. 16. *I will fight againſt them with the ſword of my mouth,* Rev. 2. 24. *I will put upon you no other burden, &c. I ſay unto you and the reſt of Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, and which have not knowne the depths of Satan, &c.* And when it is ſaid in the ſingular Number (as it is often) *I know thy works and thy labour, &c.* verſ. 2. and verſ. 4. *Repent and doe thy firſt works*; and verſ. 13. *Thou haſt not denied my faith, &c.* and cap. 3. 26. *Becauſe thou art neither hot nor cold, &c.* All theſe and the like places, are not to be underſtood as meant of one individuall perſon, but of the whole company of Miniſters, and alſo of the whole Church, becauſe that the puniſhment threatned, is to the whole Church; *Revel.* 2. 5. *Repent and doe thy firſt works, or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and remove thy Candleſticke out of his place*; Rev. 2. 16. *Repent or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight againſt them with the ſword of my mouth*; Revel. 2. 24. *I will not put upon you any other burden.* Now we have no warrant in the Word to thinke that Chriſt would remove his Goſpell from a Church for the ſinne of one Biſhop; when all the other Miniſters and the Churches themſelves are free from thoſe ſinnes. And if God ſhould take this courſe, in what wofull and miſerable condition ſhould the Church of *England* be, which groaneth under ſo many corrupt Prelates? By all this it appeares, that the word *Angel*, is not to be taken ἰδιωτικῶς, but συνηθικῶς.

not properly but figuratively. And this is the judgement of Master *Perkins* upon the second Chapter of the *Revelation*; and of Master *Brightman*; and of Doctor *Fulke*, who in answer to the Rhemists in *Apoc.* 1. 20. hath these words; S. *Iohn* by the Angels of the Churches meaneth not all, that should weare on their heads myters, and hold crosier staves in their hands, like dead Idolls, but them that are the faithfull messengers of Gods word, and utter and declare the same. Againe, they are called the Angels of the Churches, because they be Gods messengers.

Master *Fox* likewise in his Meditation upon the *Revelation* (*pag.* 7. 9. 17.) is of this opinion, and hath gathered to our hands the opinions of all Interpreters he could meet, and saith that they all consent in this, That under the person of an Angel, the Pastors and Ministers of the Churches were understood. Saint *Austin* in his 132. Epistle, saith thus; *Sic enim in Apocalypsi legitur Angelus, &c. Quod si de Angelo superiorum cœlorum, & non de* Præpositis Ecclesiarum *vellet intelligi, non consequenter diceret,* habeo adversum te, *&c.* And so in his second Homily upon the *Revelation* (if that booke be his) *Quod autem dicit Angelo Thyatirę,* habeo adversum te pauca, *dicit* Præpositis Ecclesiarum, *&c.* This also *Gregory* the Great, *lib.* 34. *Moral. in Iob cap.* 4. *Sæpè sacram scripturam prædicatores Ecclesiæ, pro eo quod patris gloriam annunciant, Angelorum nomine solere designare: & hinc esse, quod Iohannes in Apocalypsi* septem Ecclesiis scribens, Angelis Ecclesiarum loquitur, *id est,* Prædicatoribus populorum. Master *Fox* citeth *Primasius, Haymo, Beda, Richard, Thomas,* and others, to whom wee referre you.

If it be here demanded (as it is much by the Hierarchicall side) that if by Angel be meant the whole company of Presbyters, why Christ did not say, To the Angels in the plurall number, but to the Angel in the singular?

We answer, That though this question may favour of a little too much curiositie, yet wee will make bold to subjoyn three conjecturall reasons of this phrase of speech.

First,

First, It is so used in this place, because it is the common language of other Scriptures in types and visions to set downe a certaine number for an uncertaine, and the singular number for the plurall. Thus the Ramme, *Dan.* 8. 3. is interpreted vers. 20. to be the Kings of Media and Persia. And the enemies of Gods Church are set out by foure hornes. And the deliverers by foure Carpenters, *Zach.* 1. 18. 20. And the wise and foolish Virgins are said to be five wise and five foolish. And many such like. And therefore as we answer the Papists, when they demand why Christ if he meant figuratively when he said, *This is my body*, did not speake in plaine language, *This is the signe of my body?* We say, That this phrase of speech is proper to all Sacraments: So wee also answer here, this phrase of speech, *Angel* for *Angels*, is common to all types and visions.

Secondly, Angel is put, though more be meant, that so it may hold proportion with the Vision which *John* saw, Chap. 1. 12. 20. *He saw seven golden Candlesticks, and seven Starres.* And therefore to hold proportion, the Epistles are directed to seven Angels, and to seven Churches. And this is called a mystery, *Revel.* 1. 20. *The mystery of the seven starres, &c.* Now a mystery is a secret, which comprehends more then is expressed; and therefore though but one Angel be expressed, yet the mystery implyes all the Angels of that Church.

Thirdly, To signifie their unitie in the Ministeriall function, and joynt commission to attend upon the feeding and governing of one Church, with one common care, as it were with one hand and heart. And this is more fitly declared by the name of one Angel, then of many. We often finde the name of (one) Prophet or Priest to be put for the generall body of the Ministery, or whole multitude of Prophets or Priests, in the Church of *Israel* or *Iudah*, when the Spirit of God intendeth to reprove, threaten, or admonish them. Thus it is *Ier.* 6. 13. 18. 18. *Isa.* 3. 2. *Hos.* 9. 8. *Ezek.* 7. 26. *Hos.* 4. 6. *Mal.* 2. 7. Neither should it seeme strange, that a multitude of

company of Ministers should be understood under the name of one Angel, seeing a multitude of heavenly Angels (implyed in one service for the good of Gods Saints) is sometimes in the Scripture shut up under one Angel in the singular number, as may be gathered from *Gen.* 24. 7. 2 *Kings* 19. 35. *Psal.* 34. 7. compared with *Psalme* 91. 11. *Gen.* 32. 1. 2 *Kings* 6. 16, 17. And also a multitude of devils or evill Angels, joyntly labouring in any one worke, is set forth under the name of one evill or uncleane spirit. 1 *King.* 22. 21, 22. *Mark.* 1. 23, 24. *Mark.* 5. 2. 9. *Luk.* 4. 33, 34. *Luk.* 8. 27. 30. 1 *Pet.* 5. 8. *Heb.* 2. 14. *Ephes.* 6. 11, 12.

But now let us suppose (which yet notwithstanding we will not grant) that the word *Angel* is taken individually for one particular person; as Doctor *Reynolds* seemes to interpret it, together with Master *Beza*, yet nevertheless, there will nothing follow out of this acception, that will any wayes make for the upholding of a Diocesan Bishop, with sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, as a distinct superior to Presbyters. And this appeares

First, Because it never was yet proved nor ever will (as we conceive) that these Angels were Diocesan Bishops, considering that Parishes were not divided into Dioceses in S. *Iohns* dayes. And the seven starres are said to be fixed in their seven Candlestickes, or Churches, not one starre over divers Candlestickes. Neither can those Churches be thought to be Diocesan, when not onely *Tindall* and the old Translation, calls them seven Congregations, but we read also *Acts* 20. that at *Ephesus* which was one of those Candlestickes, there was but one flocke.

And secondly, we further finde that in *Ephesus* one of those seven Churches, there were many Presbyters, which are all called Bishops, *Acts* 20. 28. And wee finde no colour of any superintendency or superioritie of one Bishop over another. To them in generall the Church is committed to be fed by them without any respect had to *Timothy*, who stood at his elbow and had beene with him in Macedonia, and was now waiting upon him to *Ierusalem*.

Item. This is also confirmed by *Epiphanius*, who writing of the Hereſies of the *Meletians*, ſaith, That in ancient times this was peculiar to *Alexandria*, that it had but one Biſhop, whereas other Cities had two. And he being Biſhop of Cypres, might well be acquainted with the condition of the Churches of Aſia, which were ſo nigh unto him.

Thirdly, There is nothing ſaid in the ſeven Epiſtles that implyeth any ſuperioritie or majoritie of rule or power that theſe Angels had over the other Angels that were joyned with them in their Churches. It is written indeed, in commendation of the Angel of the Church of *Epheſus*, *that he could not beare them that were evill, and that he had tryed them which ſay they were Apoſtles and are not, and had found them lyars*. And it is ſpoken in diſpraiſe of the Angel of *Pergamus*, *that he ſuffred them which held the doctrine of Balaam, &c.* But theſe things are common duties, requirable at the hands of all Miniſters, who have the Charge of Soules.

But ſuppoſe that there were ſome ſuperioritie and preheminency inſinuated by this individuall Angel, yet who knoweth not that there are divers kinds of ſuperioritie; To wit, of Order, of dignitie, of gifts and parts, or in degree of Miniſtery, or in charge of power and juriſdiction. And how will it be proved that this Angel if he had a ſuperioritie, had any more then a ſuperioritie of order, or of gifts and parts? Where is it ſaid, That this Angel was a ſuperior degree or order of Miniſtery above Presbyters? In which Epiſtle is it ſaid that this Angel had ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction? And therefore as our learned Proteſtants prove againſt the Papiſts, that when Chriſt directed his ſpeech to *Peter* in particular and ſaid, *I will give unto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, &c.* That this particularization of *Peter* did not import any ſingular preheminence or majoritie of power to *Peter* more then to the other Apoſtles. But that though the promiſe was made to *Peter*, yet it was made to him in the name of all the reſt, and given to all as well as one. And

that

that therefore it was ſpoken to one perſon, and not to all, thatſo Chriſt might foreſignifie the unitie of his Church, as *Cyprian*, *Auſtin*, *Hierome*, *Optatus*, and others ſay. So when Chriſt directs an Epiſtle to one Angel, it doth not imply a ſuperior power over his fellow Angels, but at moſt onely a preſidency for order ſake. And that which is written to him, is written to the reſt as well as to him. And therefore written to one, not to exclude the reſt, but to denote the unity that ought to be betweene the Miniſters of the ſame Church in their common care and diligence to their flocke. And this is all that Doctor *Reynolds* ſaith, as you may reade in his conference with *Hart*, *cap.* 4. *diviſ.* 3. *ad finem.* For it is evident that Doctor *Reynolds* was an utter enemy to the *Ius Divinum* of the Epiſcopall preheminency over Presbyters by his Letter to Sir *Francis Knolls*. And learned Maſter *Beza* alſo ſaith ſomething to the ſame purpoſe in his Annotations upon *Revel.* 2. 1. *Angelo* i. πρωτῳ *quem nimirum oportuit imprimis de his rebus admoneri, ac per eum cæteros collegas, totamq; adeo Eccleſiam. Sed hinc ſtatui Epiſcopulis ille gradus poſteà immanitus in Eccleſiam Dei invectus certè non poteſt nec debet, imò ne perpetuum quidem iſtud* πρωτοστατοῦ *munus eſſe neceſſario oportuiſſe, ſicut exorta inde Tyrannis oligarchica (cujus apex eſt Antichriſtiana beſtia) certiſſimâ cum totius non Eccleſiæ modo ſed etiam orbis pernicie, nunc tandem declarat.*

a *Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apoſtoli quod fuerat Petrus, pari conſortio præditi et honoris & poteſtatis ſed exordium ab unitate proficiſcitur, ut Eccleſia una monſtretur.*

If therefore our *Remonſtrant* can produce no better evidence for his Hierarchy then *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the *Angels of the Aſian Churches*, Let not this *Remonſtrant* and his party, cry out of wrong, *if this claimed Hierarchy be for ever hooted out of the Church*, ſeeing it is his owne Option. And yet we cannot conceale one refuge more out of Scripture, to which the Hierarchy betake themſelves for ſhelter. And that is the two Poſtſcripts in the end of *Pauls* ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, and of that to *Titus*; where in the one, *Timothy* is ſaid to be the firſt Biſhop of *Epheſus*, and in the other, *Titus* is ſaid to be the firſt Biſhop of the Church of the *Cretians*. To both which places wee anſwer.

That

That these two Postscripts (and so all the rest) are no part of Canonicall Scripture. And therefore our former and ancienter English Translations, though they have these Postscripts, yet they are put in a small character different from that of the Text, that all men might take notice they were no parts of the Text. Although our Episcopall men of late in newer impressions have marged their Phylacteries, in putting those Postscripts in the same full character with that of the Text, that the simple might beleeve they are Canonicall Scripture. The Papists themselves (*Baronius*, *Serrarius*, and the Rhemist) confesse that there is much falsitie in them. The first Epistle to *Timothy*, is thus subscribed: *The first to Timothy was written from Laodicea, which is the chiefest Citie of Phrygia Pacatiana.* Here wee demand, whether *Paul* when he writ the first Epistle to *Timothy*, was assured he should live to write a second, which was written long after? And if not; How comes it to be subscribed, *The first to Timothy*, which hath relation to a second? Besides, The Epistle is said to be writ from *Laodicea*, whereas *Beza* in his Annotations proves apparently, that it was written from *Macedonia*; to which opinion *Baronius* and *Serrarius* subscribe. It is added, *which is the chiefest Citie of Phrygia Pacatiana.* But this Epistle is no where read in the Writers of those ages, saith *Beza*, *Sed apud recentiores illos, qui Romani imperii jam instaurati provincias descripserunt.* So that by this place it is evident, that the subscription was added a long while after the writing of the Epistles by some men, for the most part *vel indocti*, saith *Beza*, *vel certe non satis attenti*, Either by a learned or negligent man.

The second Epistle is thus subscribed; *The second Epistle unto Timothy ordained the first Bishop of the Church of the Ephesians, was written from Rome when Paul was brought before Nero the second time.* Now these words, *Ordained the first Bishop*, is wanting, saith *Beza in quibusdam vetustis codicibus, in veteri vulgatæ editione, & apud Syrum interpretem.* If Saint *Paul* had written this Postscript, he

would not have said, *To Timothy the first Bishop, &c.* whereas it was not yet certain whether ever there should be a second. Neither would it be said when *Paul was brought, &c.* But when I was the second time brought before *Nero*. The Syriack Interpreter reads it, *Here ends the second Epistle to Timothy written from Rome.*

The Epistle to *Titus* is thus subscribed: *Written to Titus, ordained first Bishop of the Church of the Cretians from Nicopolis of Macedonia.* Here it is said that this Epistle was written from *Nicopolis*, whereas it is cleare that *Paul* was not at *Nicopolis* when he wrot it. *Tit. 3. 12. Be diligent to come to me to Nicopolis, for I have determined there to winter.* He doth not say, *Here to winter*, but *There*; Where note, for the present he was not there. And besides, it is said, that *Titus was ordained the first Bishop, &c.* And who was the second? or was there ever a second? And also *he is said to be Bishop*, not onely of a Dioceese, *but of all Creete.* Was there ever such a second Bishop? Adde, lastly, that it is said, *Bishop of the Church of the Cretians*: Whereas it would be said of the *Churches of the Cretians.* For the Christian Churches of any Nation are called *Churches* by *Luke* and *Paul* not *Church*. Therefore *Codex Claromontanus* subscribes, *Here ends the Epistle to Titus*, and no more. So the Syriack, *Finitur Epistola ad Titum quæ scripta fuit e Nicopoli.* The old Vulgar Edition hath nothing of the Episcopacy of *Titus*. By all this it appeares, That if the Bishops had no more authoritie to urge us to subscribe to their Ceremonies, then they have authoritie for their Episcopall dignitie by these Subscriptions, there would be no more Subscription to Ceremonies in the Churches of *England*.

But some will say, That there is one objection out of Scripture yet unanswered, and that is from the inequalitie that was betweene the twelve Apostles and the seventy Disciples.

To which we answer;

First, That it cannot be proved that the twelve Apostles had any superioritie over the seventy, either of Ordination,

dination, or Jurisdiction. Or that there was any subordination of the seventy unto the twelve. But suppose it were, yet we answer,

Secondly, That a superiority and inferiority betweene Officers of different kindes, will not prove that there should be a superiority and inferiority betweene Officers of the same kinde. No man will deny but that in Christs time, there were Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors and Teachers, and that the Apostles were superior to Evangelists and Pastors. But it cannot be proved, That one Apostle had any superioritie over another Apostle, or one Evangelist over another. And why then should one Presbyter be over another? Hence it followeth, That though we should grant a superiority betweene the twelve and the seventy, yet this will not prove the question in hand. Because the question is concerning Officers of the same kinde, and the instance is of Officers of different kinds, amongst whom no man will deny but there may be a superioritie and inferioritie, as there is amongst us betweene Presbyters and Deacons.

And now let your *Honours* judge (considering the premisses) how farre this Episcopall government is from any *Divine right*, or *Apostolicall institution*. And how true that speech of *Hierome* is, That a Bishop as it is a superior Order to a Presbyter, is *an Humane præsumption*, not a divine Ordinance.

But though Scripture failes them, yet the Indulgence and Munificence of *Religious Princes* may support them; And to this the *Remonstrant* makes his next recourse, yet so as he acknowledgeth here, *Ingagements to Princes onely for their accessory Dignities, Titles, and Maintenance; not at all for their stations and functions*, (wherein yet the Author plainly acknowledgeth a difference betweene our *Bishops* and the *Bishops of old* by such Accessions.)

For our parts, wee are so farre from envying the *gracious Munificence of pious Princes, in collating honourable maintenance upon the Ministers of Christ*, that we beleeve,

that

that *even by Gods owne Ordinance, double Honour* is due unto to them.

And that by how much the *Ministery of the Gospell* is more *honourable* then that of the *Law*; by so much the more ought all that embrace the *Gospell*, to be carefull to provide, that the *Ministers of the Gospell* might not onely live, but maintaine Hospitalitie, according to the Rule of the *Gospell*. And that worthy *Gentleman* spake as an Oracle, that said; *That scandalous Maintenance is a great cause of a scandalous Ministery.*

Yet wee are not ignorant, that when the Ministery came to have *Agros, domos, lectisternia, vehicula, equos, tonsiones*, as *Chrysost. Hom.* 86. *in Matth.* That then *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit Matrem*, Religion brought forth Riches, and the daughter devoured the Mother; and then there was a voice of Angels heard from Heaven; *Hodie venenum in Ecclesiam Christi venit*; This day is poison shed into the Church of Christ.

And then it was that *Jerome* complained, *Christi Ecclesia postquam ad Christianos principes venit, potentia quidem & divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta est.* Then also was that Conjunction found true; That when they *had wooden Chalices*, they had *golden Priests*; but when their *Chalices were golden, their Priests were wooden.*

And though we do not thinke, there is any such incompatibilitie, but that large *Revenues may be* [illegible] *with an humble spirit*; yet is it very rare to finde. History tells us, that the superfluous revenues of the *Bishops* not onely made them neglect their *Ministery*, but further inflamed in them a lofty and pompous countenance; which did so elevate their Spirits, that they insulted over their Brethren, both *Clergy* and *People*, and gave occasion to others to hate and abhorre the Christian faith. Which *Eusebius* sets forth fully in the pride of *Paulus Samosatenus*, who notwithstanding the meannesse and obscuritie

ſcurity of his birth, afterwards grew to that *height of Inſolency and Pride* in all his carriage; eſpecially in that numerous trayne that attended him in the ſtreets, and in his ſtately throne raiſed after the manner of Kings and Princes, that *Fides noſtra invidiæ, & odio, propter faſtum & ſuperbiam cordis illius, facta fuerit obnoxia*; the Chriſtian faith was expoſed to envie and hatred through his pride. *Euſeb. lib. 7. cap. 29.*

And as their Ambition (fed with the largeneſſe of their revenewes) diſcovered it ſelfe in great attendance, ſtately dwellings, and all Lordly pompe, ſo *Hierom* complaines of their Pride in their ſtately ſeats, *qui velut in aliqua ſublimi ſpecula conſtituti, vix dignantur videre mortales & alloqui conſervos ſuos*: who ſetting aloft as it were in a watch tower, will ſcarce deigne to looke upon poore mortalls, or ſpeake to their fellow ſervants.

Here we might be large, in multiplying ſeverall Teſtimonies againſt the pride of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, that the largeneſſe of their revenewes rayſed them to: but we will conclude with that grave complaint of *Sulpitius Severus*:

Ille qui ante pedibus aut aſello ire conſueverat, ſpumante equo ſuperbus invehitur: parvâ prius ac vili cellulâ contentus habitare, erigit celſa Laquearia, conſtruit multa conclavia, ſculpit poſtes, pingit armaria, veſtem reſpuit groſſiorem, indumentum molle deſiderat, &c. Which becauſe the practiſe of our times hath already turned into Engliſh, we ſpare the labour to tranſlate.

Onely ſuffer us (being now to give a *Vale* to our Remonſtrants Arguments) to recollect ſome few things.

Firſt, whereas this Remonſtrant ſaith; *If wee doe not ſhew out of the true and genuine writings of thoſe holy men, that lived in the Apoſtles dayes a cleare and received diſtinction of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as three diſtinct ſubordinate callings, with an evident ſpecification of the duty belonging to each of them: Let this claimed Hierarchie be for ever hooted out of the Church*: We beſeech you let it bee remembred how wee have proved, out of the *genuine* and *undeniable writings of the Apoſtles themſelves*: that theſe *Pag. 24.*

are not three distinct callings: Bishops are Presbyters, *being with them all one, Name and Office*, & that the distinction of Bishops and Presbyters was not of *Divine* Jurisdiction and Institution, but Humane: and that these Bishops in their first Institution did not differ so much from Presbyters, as our present Bishops differ from them.

Secondly, whereas this Remonstrant saith, *If our Bishops challenge any other power then was by Apostolike Authoritie delegated to, and required of Timothy and Titus, and the Angells of the Asian Churches*: Let them bee disclaimed as usurpers. We desire it may be remembred, how wee have proved first; that *Timothy* and *Titus* and the Angels were no Diocesan Bishops; and secondly, that our Bishops challenge (if not in their Polemicks, yet in their Practicks) a Power that *Timothy* and *Titus*, and those Angells never did.

Pag. 23.

Pag. 22. Thirdly, Whereas this Remonstrant saith, *If there can be better evidence under Heaven for any matter of fact, let Episcopacy be for ever abandoned out of Gods Church*: we beseech you remember how weake we have discovered his Evidence to be; and then the *Inference* upon all these *wee humbly* leave to your *Honours Wisedome and Iustice*.

Sect. XIIII.

HAving thus considered the validity of those Arguments, whereby this Remonstrant would suffult *Episcopacy*, we descend now to inquire, what satisfaction he gives to those objections, which himselfe frames as the maine, if not the sole arguments; that Episcopacy is assaultable by, and they are two.

First, *that pleading the Divine right of Episcopacy, is to the prejudice of Soveraignty*: Secondly, *that it casts a dangerous imputation upon all those Reformed Churches that want this Government*.

To the first, the *prejudice of Soveraignty*; hee answers there is a compatibleneſſe in this case of *Gods Act*, and that the

the Kings: it is God that makes the Bishop, the King that gives the Bishoppricke.

But we have proved already, that God never made a Bishop, as he stands in his *Superiority* over all other *Presbyters*, hee never had Gods *Fiat*: and if they disclaime the influence of soveraignty unto their *creation* to a priority, and assert, that the King doth not make them *Bishops*, they must have no being at all. Sure wee are the Lawes of the land proclaime, that not onely *Bishoppriekes*, but *Bishops* and *and all the Jurisdiction* they have is from the King: whereas the *Remonstrant* acknowledgeth no more, but the bare [a] place and exercise to bee from *Regall donation*, which cannot bee affirmed without apparent prejudice of that Soveraignty which the Lawes of the Land have invested our Princes with.

37. *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 17.

[a] The Remonstrant here acknowledges the same of the King, that *Frier Simon*, a *Florentine* did of the Pope, who affirmed the degree of a Bishop was *de jure divino*, but every particular Bishop *de jure Pontificio. Hist. con. Trid.* *Pag.* 28. 29.

And for his unworthy comparison of *Kings* in order to *Bishops* and *Patrons* in order to their *Clerkes*, when he shall prove that the *patron* gives *ministeriall power* to his *Clerke*, as the *King* according to our Lawes gives *Episcopal power* to the *Bishop*, it may be of some conducement to his cause, but till then, we leave the unfitnesse of this comparison, and the unthankefulnesse of those men to the indulgence of their Soveraigne, to their deserved recompence.

His learned answer to such men as borrowing Saint *Ierome* phrase, speake Saint *Pauls truth* is in summe this: *That he knowes not how to prescribe to mens thoughts, but for all his Rhethoricke, they will thinke what they list; but if they will grant him the question, they shall soone bee at an end of the quarrell*: which one answer if *Satisfactorie* would silence all controversies to as good purpose as he did *Bellarmine*, who said, *Bellarmine* saith it is thus, and I say it is not, and where is *Bellarmine* now?

To the second objection, that *Episcopacy thus asserted casts an imputation upon all the Reformed Churches, that want that Govornement*, he saith; *that the objection is intended to raise envy against them*; who (if they may be beleeved) *love, and honour those sister Churches, and blesse God for them.* *Pag.* 29.

But do they not plucke all this envie upon themselves, who in their *conferences, Writings, Pulpits, Universities, Disputes, High Commission, declamations, have disclaimed them as no Churches that have disclaimed the Prelates*; and have honoured the most *glorious Lights* of *those Reformed Churches, Calvin, Beza*, and others with no better titles then of *Rascalls, Blasphemers, &c.*

But the pith of his answer after a few good words is this: that no such consequent can bee drawne from their opinion, for their *Ius divinum* pleades onely for a *Justifiableness of this holy calling*: Not for an absolute necessity of it, *warranting it where it is, and requiring it where it may be had; but not fixing upon the Church that wants it, the defect of any thing of the Essence of a Church, but onely of the glory and perfection of it*, neither is it their sinne, but their misery.

And is it so, doth not this *Ius divinum* argue a *Necessitie* but onely a *Justifiableness* of this calling; nor is the want of it a want of any thing of Essence, but onely of perfection? wee had thought, that page the 26 where this *Remonstrant* strives to fetch the *pedegree of Episcopacie* from no lesse then *Apostolicall*, and in that right *Divine institution* he had reckoned it among those things, which the Apostles ordained for the succeeding administration of the Church *in essentiall matters*: but here it seemes hee is willing to retract what there fell from him: there it was to his [illegible] advantage to say, this government was a thing essentiall to the Church, and here it is no lesse advantage to say, it is not essentiall.

But if it be not Essentiall, then what is the reason that when a *Priest* who hath received orders at *Rome* turnes to us, they urge not him to receive ordination among us againe: but when some of our brethren, who flying in Queene *Maries* dayes, had received *Imposition of hands* in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas returned againe in the dayes of *Queene Elizabeth*, they were urged to receive Imposition of hands againe from our Bishops, and some did receive it. If those Churches that want Bishops want nothing essentiall to a Church; then what

Essen-

Essentiall want was there in the ordination of those *Ministers* that received Imposition of hands in those Churches, that might deserve a *Reordination*, more then if they had first received their ordination at *Rome*.

And what is the reason that Bishop *Mountague* so confidently affirmes, that Ordination by Episcopall hands is so necessary, as that the Church is no true Church without it, and the Ministery no true Ministery, and ordinarily no salvation to be obtained without it. And if this *Remonstrant* should leave Bishop *Mountague* to answer for himselfe, yet notwithstanding he stands bound to give us satisfaction to these two questions, which arise from his owne Booke. *Originum Ecclesiasticarum tomi prioris pars posterior 463, 464.*

First, whether *that Office*, which by *divine right* hath the *sole power of Ordaining*, and *Ruling* all other *Officers* in the Church, (as he saith Episcopacy hath) belong not to the being, but onely to the glory and perfection of a Church. Secondly, there being (in this mans thoughts) the same *Jus divinum* for Bishops, that there is for *Pastors* and *Elders*, whether if those *Reformed Churches* wanted *Pastors* and *Elders* too, they should want nothing of the *Essence* of a Church, but of the *perfection and glory of it*. *Pag. 32.*

But this *Remonstrant* seemes to know so much of the minde of those Churches, that *if they might have their option, they would most gladly embrace Episcopall Government, as little differing from their owne Moderatorship, save onely in the perpetuitie of it, and the new Invention* (as he odiously calls it) *of Lay Elders*. But no question those learned Worthies that were entrusted *by the Churches to compile their confessions, did comprise their Judgements better* then the *Composer of this Remonstrance*. And to his presumption, wee oppose their Confession. We will beginne with the French Church, who in their Confession speake thus.

Credimus veram Ecclesiam gubernari debere ea politia, quam Dominus noster Jesus

We beleeve that the true Church ought to be governed by that policy which

Christus sanciuit, ita videlicet, ut sint in ea Pastores, Presbyteri sive Seniores & Diaconi, ut doctrine puritas retineatur, &c. Art. 29. *Credimus omnes Pastores ubicunq; collocati sunt, eadem & equali potestate inter se esse creditos sub uno illo capite summoq; & solo universali Episcopo Iesu Christo.* Art. 30. *Gallica confessione. Credimus veram hanc Ecclesiam debere regi, ac gubernari spirituali illâ politiâ quam nobis Deus ipse in verbo suo edocuit; ita ut sint in ea Pastores ac ministri qui pure et concionentur et Sacramenta administrent; sint quoq; Seniores & Diaconi qui Ecclesie senatum constituant, ut his veluti mediis vera Religio conservari, Hominesq; vitiis dediti spiritualiter corripi & emendari possint. Tunc enim rite & ordinate omnia fiunt in Ecclesiâ, cum viri fideles, & pii ad ejus gubernationem deliguntur juxta Divi Pauli præscriptum,* 1 Tim. 3. *Confes. Belgic.* Art. 30. *Cæterum ubicunq; locorum sunt verbi Dei Ministri eandem atque æqualem* Omnes *habent tum* Potestatem *tum* Authoritatem, *ut qui sunt æquè Omnes Christi unici illius universalis Episcopi & capitis Ecclesiæ Ministri.*

Christ Jesus our Lord established, *viz.* that there be Pastors, Presbyters, or Elders and Deacons. And againe, We beleeve that all true Pastors whete ever they be, are endued with equall and the same power under one chiefe head and Bishop Christ Jesus. Consonant to this the Dutch Churches. We beleeve (say they) the true Church ought to be ruled with that spirituall policy which God hath taught us in his Word, to wit, that there be in it Pastours to preach the Word purely; Elders and Deacons to constitute the Ecclesiasticall Senate, that by these meanes Religion may be preserved, and manners corrected. And so again We beleeve where ever the Ministers of God are placed, they *All* have the same *equall power* and *authoritie*, as being All equally the Ministers of Christ.

In which harmony of these Confessions, see how both Churches agree in these five points:

1. First, That there is in the Word of God, an exact forme of

of Government set downe, *Deus in verbo suo edocuit.*

Secondly, That this forme of Government Christ established in his Church; *Jesus Christus in Ecclesia sanxit.*

Thirdly, That this forme of Government is by Pastors, Elders, and Deacons. 3.

Fourthly, That the true Church of Christ ought to be thus governed; *Verum Ecclesiam debere regi.* 4.

Fiftly, That all true Ministers of the Gospell are of equall power and Authoritie. 5.

For the reason he assignes, why those Churches should make this Option, wee cannot enough admire that such a passage should fall from his pen, as to say, there is *Little difference betweene their Episcopacy, and our Episcopacy, save onely in perpetuitie and lay Elders*; for who knows not that betweene these two, there is as vast a difference as betweene the *Duke of Venice* and an *absolute Monarch*, For, 1. the Moderator in Geneva is not of a superior order to his Brethren; nor 2. hath an ordination differing from them; nor 3. assumes power of sole Ordination or Iurisdiction; nor hath he 4. maintenance for that office above his Brethren; nor 5. a Negative voyce in what is agreed by the rest; nor 6. any further power then any of his Brethren. So that the difference betweene our Bishops and their Moderators is more then *Little*: But if it be so little as this *Remonstrant* here pretends; then the *alteration* and *Abrogation* of *Episcopacy* will be with the lesse *difficultie*, and *occasion the lesse disturbance.*

Sect. XV.

But there is another thing, wherein our *Episcopacy differs* from the *Geneva Moderatorship*, besides the perpetuitie; and that is the *exclusion of the Lay Presbytery*, (which if we may beleeve this *Remonstrant*) *never till this age had footing in the Christian Church.*

In which Assertion, this Remonstrant concludes *so fully* with Bishop *Halls Irrefragable Propositions*, and his other

other booke of *Episcopacy by divine right*; as if he had conspired to sweare to what the Bishop had said.

Now, though we will not enter the Lists with a man of that *learning* and *fame* that Bishop *Hall* is, yet wee dare tell this *Remonstrant*, that this his assertion hath no more truth in it, *then the rest that we have alreadie noted*. Wee will (to avoyde prolixity) not urge those three knowne Texts of Scripture, produced by some for the establishing of Governing Elders in the Church, *not yet vindicated by the adversaries*.

a 1 Tim. 5. 17. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Rom. 12. 8.

Not will wee urge that famous Text of [b] *Ambrose* in 1 *Tim.* 5. But if there were no *Lay Elders* in the Church till this present age, we would be glad to learne, who they were of whom *Origen* speakes, when he tells us, it was the Custome of Christian Teachers first to examine such as desired to heare them, of whom there were *two orders*; the first were *Catechumeni*, or beginners; the other was of such as were more perfect: among whom τινὲς τεταγμένοι πρὸς τὸ φιλοπευθεῖν τὸν βίον καὶ τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῶν προσιόντων, &c. *Nonnulli præpositi sunt qui in vitam & mores eorum qui admittantur inquirant, ut qui turpia committant iis communi Catu Interdicant, qui vero ab istis abhorrent, ex animo complexi, meliores quotidiè reddant*: There are some ordained to inquire into the life and manners of such as are admitted into the Church, that they may banish such from the publique Assembly, that perpetrate scandalous Acts; which place tells us plainely:

[b] *Vnde & Synagoga, et postea Ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine Consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesiâ. Quod qua negligentiâ obsoleverit nescio, nisi forte Doctorum desidiâ, aut magis superbia, dum soli volunt aliquid videri.* *Origen. Lib. 3. contra Celsum.*

First, that there were some in the higher forme of hearers (not Teachers) who were *Censores morum* over the rest. Secondly, that they were designed or constituted to this worke, τεταγμένοι. Thirdly, that they had such Authoritie intrusted into their hands, as that they might interdict such as were scandalous from the publique Assemblyes. Wee would gladly know, whether these were not, as it were, *Lay Elders*.

That there were such in the Church (distinguished from others that were called to teach) appeares. *Augustine* writing to his Charge directs his Epistle, *Dilectissimis*

Ep. 137.

simis fratribus, clero, senioribus & universæ Plebi Ecclesiæ Hipponensis: where first there is the generall compellation, *Fratribus*, brethren; then there is a distribution of these Brethren into the *Clergie*, the *Elders* and the *whole People*; so that there were in that Church Elders distinguished both from the Clergie, and the rest of the People.

So againe, *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum: Omnes vos, Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, & Seniores scitis*; All you *Bishops*, Elders, Deacons, and Elders, doe know. What were those two sorts of Elders there mentioned in one *comma*, *& ibidem cap.* 56. *Peregrinus Presbyter & seniores Ecclesiæ Mustitanæ Regionis tale desiderium prosequuntur*; where againe we reade of *Elder and Elders*, *Presbyter and Seniors* in one Church. *Lib.* 3. *cap.*

Both those passages are upon record in the publike acts, which are more fully set downe by *Baronius*, *an.* 393. *Num.* 15. 16, 17. As also by *Albuspineus*, in his Edition of *Optatus*: in which Acts the *Seniors* are often mentioned. In that famous relation of the purging of *Cæcilianus* and *Felix*, there is a coppie of a Letter; *Fratribus & filijs: Clero & Senioribus, Fortis in Domino æternam salutem*: another Letter is mentioned a little before *Clericis & Senioribus Cirthensium in Domino æternam Salutem*. These Seniors were interessed in affaires concerning the Church as being the men by whose advise they were managed.

The Letter of *Purpurius* to *Silvanus* saith, *adhibete clericos, & seniores plebis, Ecclesiasticos Viros, & inquirant quæ sunt istæ Dissensiones: ut ea quæ sunt secundum fidei Præcepta fiant*, where wee see the joynt power of these Seniors, with the Clergie in ordering Ecclesiasticall affaires, that by their wisdome and care peace might bee settled in the Church, for which cause these *Seniors* are called *Ecclesiasticall men*; and yet they are distinguished from Clergie men.

They are mentioned againe afterwards by *Maximus*, saying: *Lege Alarico SENIORES Ad Populi Christiani Greg. Mag.* distinguisheth them also from the Clergie,

Tabellarium cum consensu SENIORUM *& Cleri me-*
liorem ordinandum.

These Seniors had power to reprove offenders, otherwise why should *Augustine* say, *Cum ab eruditis eloquens &*
Senioribus argumentis & imputatum nobis vitium abrasum fuerit, tur-
pes alienas pervaserit, &c. when they were by the Elders reproved for their errors, and drunkennesse is laid to a mans charge, &c. So that it was proper to the Seniors to have the cognizance of delinquents, and to reprove them.

August. Ser. 19. de Verb. Dom.

The same *Augustine* in *Psalme* 36. *Necesse vos fuerat Primiani causam, quem, &c. Seniorum literis ejusdem Ecclesiæ postulantibus audire.* Being requested by letters from the *Seniors* of that *Church*, it was needfull for me to heare the cause of *Primian, &c.*

August. in Psal. 36. Conc. 2.

So againe, *Optatus*, who mentioning a persecution that did for a while scatter the Church, saith, *Erant Ecclesiæ ex auro & argento quam plurima Ornamenta, quæ nec defodere potuere, nec secum portare potuere, quare Fidelibus Senioribus commendavit.* *Albaspinæus*, the learned Antiquary, on that place acknowledges, that *Besides the Clergie, there were certaine of the Elders of the people men of approved life, that did tend the affaires of the Church, of whom this place is to bee understood.*

By all these testimonies it is apparent: first, that in the ancient Church there were some called *Seniors*. Secondly, that these Seniors were not Clergie men. Thirdly, that they had a stroke in governing the Church and managing the affaires thereof. Fourthly, that Seniors were distinguished from the rest of the people.

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As for the learned *Spenserus* whom he [illegible] yet we [illegible] of him, as if the judgement of the whole Church of Geneva were incorporated

porated into him, as this Remonſtrant doth. And for *Spalatenſis* himſelfe, we may truly ſay, in the place cited, he delivered *a complement*, rather then his *judgement*, which in *Dedicatorie Epiſtles* is not unuſuall. Wee know that reverend *Calvin* and learned *Beza* have ſaid as much upon occaſion in their Epiſtles, and yet the Chriſtian world knowes their Judgement was to the contrary.

Little reaſon therefore hath this Remonſtrant, to declaime againſt all ſuch as ſpeake againſt this Government as unlawfull, with the *termes of Ignorant and ſpitefull Sectaries*, becauſe they call the Government unlawfull: had they proceeded further to call it Antichriſtian, (which he charges upon them) they had ſaid no more, then what our eares have heard ſome of their *principall* Agents, their *Legati a Latere* ſpeake publikely in their *viſitations*: *That how ever the Church of England be ſo ſound, and Orthodoxe in her Doctrine as any Church in the world; yet in our Diſcipline and Government, we are the ſame with the Church of Rome*, which amounts to aſmuch as to ſay, the *Government is Antichriſtian*, unleſſe they will ſay the Government of Rome is not ſo, nor the Pope Antichriſt.

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D. Ducke.

Sect. XVI.

But now our *Remonſtrant* beginnes to leave his diſpute for the *Office*, and flowes into the large prayſes of the *Perſons*, and what is wanting in his *Arguments* for the *Place*, thinkes to make up in his *Encomiaſtickes* of the *Perſons*, that have poſſeſt that *place* in the *Church of God*; and tels us, that *the Religious Biſhops of all times are and have been they, that have ſtrongly upheld the truth of God againſt Satan and his Antichriſt*. It is well he ſets this crowne onely upon the heads of *Religious Biſhops*, as knowing that there are and have beene ſome *Irreligious ones*, that have *as ſtrongly upheld Satan and his Antichriſt againſt the truth of God*. But *the Religious Biſhops are they that have all times upheld the truth*. What? *they*, and *onely they*? did never any uphold

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the truth, but a *Religious Bishop*? did never any Religious *Minister* or *Professor preach*, or *write*, or *die* to uphold the truth, but a *Religious Bishop*? if so, then there is some perswasive strength in that hee saith; and a credulous man might be induced to thinke, *if Bishops goe downe, truth hath gone downe too*: But if wee can produce for *one Bishop*, *many others* that have beene valiant for the truth, this Rhetoricall insinuation will contribute no great helpe to their establishment. Nor indeede any at all, unlesse hee were able to make this good *of our times*, as well as of all others, which he assaies; for saith he, *even amongst our owne Nation many of their reverend and Learned Fathers of the Church now living, have spent their spirits, and worne out their lives in the powerfull opposition of that Man of sinne*; how many? I sir; we would faine know how many: that there are *some* that have stood up to beare witnesse against that *Man of sinne*, we acknowledge with all due respect to the Learning and worth of their Persons. But that their Episcopall dignity hath added either any *flame to their zeale*, *or any Nerves to their ability*: we cannot beleeve, nor can we thinke they would have done lesse in that cause, though they had beene no Bishops.

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a Wee may rather thinke that they would have done more. Remembring what *Martinus* was wont to say to his friend *Sulpitius*, *Nequaquam sibi in Episcopatu eam virtutum Gratiam supetisse, quam prius se habuisse meminisset.* *Sulpitius Severus Dial.* 2.

But what if this be true of some Bishops in the Kingdome, is it true of all? are there not some, that have spent their Spirits in the *opposition of Christ*, as others have in the opposition of Antichrist? And are there none but *Zealous Religious Prelates* in the Kingdome? *are there none upon whom the guilt of that may meritoriously bee charged, which others have convincingly and meritoriously opposed?* And are there not some Bishops in the Kingdome, that are so farre from opposing the *Man of sinne*, that even this *Remonstrant* is in danger of suffering under the name of *Puritan* for daring to call him by that Name, we doubt not but but this *Remonstrant* knowes there are.

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But if he will against the light of his owne Conscience, beare up a knowne errour out of private respects, (wee will not say these papers) but his owne conscience, shall one day bee an evidence against him before the dreadfull Tribunall of the Almighty.

But

But there is yet a second thing, that should endeare Episcopacy, and *that is the carefull, peaceable, painefull, conscionable managing of their Charges; to the great glory of God, and the comfort of his faithfull people.* Which (in not striving to urge) he urgeth to the full and beyond. This care, conscience, paines of our Bishops, is exercised and evidenced, either in their Preaching, or in their Ruling; for their Preaching, it is true, some few there are that *Labour in the Word and Doctrine*; whose *persons* in that respect wee *honour*: but the most are so farre from Preaching, that they rather discountenance, discourage, oppose, blaspheme Preaching. Pag. 36.

It was a *Non-preaching Bishop*, that said of a *preaching Bishop, He was a preaching Coxcombe*. As for the discharge of their office of ruling, their entrusting their *Chancellours*, and other Officers, with their Visitations, and Courts (as ordinarily they doe, whiles themselves attend the Court) doth abundantly witnesse their *care in it*. The many and loud cryes of the intolerable *oppressions* and *tyrannies* of their Court-proceedings witnesse *their peaceablenesse*, their unjust fees, exactions, commutations; witnesse *their conscionablenesse in managing their Charges, to the great glory of God, and the comfort of his faithfull people.*

And hence it is that so many at this day heare ill; (how deservedly, saith this Remonstrant, God knowes) and doe not your Honours know, and doth not this *Remonstrant* know? & doth not all of the nation (that will know any thing) know, how deservedly *Some*, nay, *Most*, nay, *All the Bishops of this Nation* heare ill, were it but onely for the late Canons and Oath? *But why should the faults of some, diffuse the blame to all?* Why? by your owne argument, that would *extend the deserts of some*, to the *Patronage of All*; and if it be a *fault in the impetuous, and undistinguishing Vulgar, so to involve all, as to make Innocency it selfe a sinne*; what is it in a Man *able to distinguish*, by the *same Imputation*, to shrowd *sinne* under *Innocency*, the sinne of *many*, under the *Innocency* of a *few*. Pag. 36. Pag. 36.

Pag. 37. But have our Bishops *indeed* beene so *carefull, painefull, conscionable*, in managing their Charges? how is it then that there are such *manifold scandalls of the inferiour Clergie* presented to your *Honours view*, which he cannot *mention without a bleeding heart*; and yet could finde in his *heart* (if he knew how) to excuse them, and though he confesse them to be the *shame and misery of our Church*, yet is he not ashamed to plead their cause at your Honours BARRE, *Onuphrius*-like, that was the *Advocate of every bad cause*; and to excite you by *Constantines* example (in a different Cause alleadged) if not to suffer those Crimes, which himselfe calls hatefull, to passe unpunished, yet not to bring them to that *open and publique punishment* they have deserved.

But what, if pious *Constantine* (in his tender care to prevent the Divisions that the emulation of the Bishops of that age, that were enraged with a spirit of envy and faction, were kindling in the Church, lest by that means the Christian faith should be derided among the Heathens) did suppresse their mutuall accusations, many of which might be but upon surmises; and that not *in a court of Justice*, but in an *Ecclesiasticall Synode*; shall this be urged before the highest *Court of Justice upon Earth*, to the patronizing of *Notorious scandalls, and hatefull enormities*, that are already proved by evidence of cleare witnesse.

Pag. 37. *But oh forbid to tell it in Gath, &c.* What? the sinne; alas, that is done already; Doe wee not know, the drunkennesse, profanenesse, superstition, Popishnesse of the English Clergy rings at *Rome* already? yes undoubtedly; and there is no way to vindicate the Honour of our *Nation, Ministry, Parliaments, Soveraigne, Religion, God*; but by causing the punishment to ring as farre as the sinne hath done; that our adversaries that have triumphed in their sinne, may be confounded at their punishments. Doe not your *Honours* know, that the plaistring or palliating of these rotten members, will be a greater dishonour to the Nation and Church, then their cutting off; and that

that the personall acts of these *sonnes of Belial*, being connived at, become Nationall sinnes?

But for this one fact of *Constantine*, wee humbly crave your *Honours* leave to present to your wisdome three Texts of Scripture, *Ezek.* 44. 12, 13. *Because they ministred unto them before their Idolls, and caused the house of Israell to fall into iniquitie, therefore have I lift up my hand unto them, saith the Lord, and they shall beare their iniquitie. And they shall not come neare unto mee, to doe the office of a Priest unto mee, nor to come neare unto any of mine holy things in the most holy place, &c.*

The second is *Ierem.* 48. 10. *Cursed be he that doth the worke of the Lord negligently*: and the third is, *Iudges* 6. 31. *He that will plead for Baal, let him be put to death while it is yet morning.* Wee have no more to say in this; whether it be best to walke after the *President of Man*, or the *Prescript of God*, your *Honours* can easily judge.

Sect. XVII.

BUt *stay*, saith this *Remonstrant*, and indeed he might well have stayed and spared the labour of his ensuing discourse, about the Church of *England*, the *Prelaticall* and the *Anti-prelaticall* Church: but these Episcopall Men deale as the *Papists* that dazzle the eyes, and astonish the senses of poore people, with the glorious Name of the *Church*, the *Church*; *The holy Mother the Church*. This is the *Gorgons head*, as Doctor *White* saith, that hath inchanted them; and held them in bondage to their Errors: All their speech is of the *Church, the Church*; no mention of the *Scriptures, of God the Father*; but all of the *Mother the Church*. Much like as they write of certaine *Aethiopians*, that by reason they use no marriage, but promiscuously company together, the children onely follow the *Mother*, the *Father* and his name is in no request, but the *Mother* hath all the reputation. So is it with the Author of this *Remonstrance*, he stiles himselfe, *a Dutifull sonne of the Church*. And it hath beene a Custome of late times, to

Pag. 39.

a In his Preface to his Booke, called *The way to the True Church. Solinus.*

to cry up the holy *Mother the Church of England*, to call for absolute obedience to *holy Church*; full conformitie to the orders of *holy Church*; Neglecting in the meane time, *God the Father, and the holy Scripture.*

Pag. 39. But if wee should now demand of them, what they meane by the *Church of England*, this *Author* seemes to be thunder-stricken at this Question, and cals the very *Question, a new Divinitie*; where he deales like such as holding great revenues by unjust Titles, will not suffer their Titles to be called in Question.

For it is apparent, *Ac si solaribus radiis descriptum esset* (to use *Tertullians* phrase) that the word *Church* is an *Equivocall word*, and hath as many severall acceptions as letters; and that *Dolus latet in universalibus*. And that by the Church of *England*; first by some of these men is meant onely the *Bishops*; or rather the two *Archbishops*; or more properly the *Archbishop of Canterbury*: Just as the *Iesuited Papists* resolve the Church and all the glorious Titles of it into *the Pope*; so doe these into the *Archbishop*, or at fullest, they understand it of *the Bishops and their party men in Convocation*; as the more ingenuous of the Papists, make the *Pope and his Cardinalls* to be *their Church*: thus excluding all the *Christian people and Presbyters of the Kingdome*, as not worthy to be reckoned in the number of the *Church*.

And which is more strange, this Author in his *Simplicitie* (as he truly saith) *never heard, nor thought of any more Churches of England then one*; and what then shall become of his *Diocesan Churches*, and *Diocesan Bishops*? And what shall wee thinke of *England*, when it was an *Heptarchy*, had it not then seven Churches when seven Kings? Or if the *Bounds of a Kingdome*, must constitute the *Limits and bounds of a Church*, why are not *England, Scotland*, and *Ireland*, all one Church? when they are happily united under one *Imperiall Monarch*, into one Kingdome? Were there in Scripture, of the Churches of Judea, and the Churches of Galatia, and why not the Churches of *England*? not that we deny the *Consociation*, or *Combi-*

nation

nation of Churches into a Provinciall or Nationall Synode for the right ordering of them. But that there should bee no *Church in England*, but a *Nationall Church*: this is that *which this Author* in his *simplicity* affirmes, of which the very rehearsall is a refutation.

Sect. XVIII.

Yet further are two things with which this *Remonstrance* stumbles up it selfe, which must not bee past without our Obiections.

First he scoffes at the *Antiprelaticall Church*, and the *Antiprelaticall Divisions*; for our parts wee acknowledge no *Antiprelaticall Church*. But there are a company of men in the *Kingdome of no meane ranke or quality*, for *Piety, Nobility, Learning*, that stand up to beare witnesse against the *Hierarchie* (as it now stands:) their usurpations over Gods Church and Ministers, their cruell using of Gods people by their tyrannicall Government: this we acknowledge; and if he call these the Antiprelaticall Church, we doubt not but your Honours will consider, that there are many Thousands in this Kingdome, and those pious and worthy persons: that thus doe and upon most just grounds.

It was a speech of *Erasmus*, of *Luther*, *ut quisque vir est optimus, ita illorum scriptis minime offendi*, the better any man was the lesse offence hee tooke at *Luthers* writings: but wee may say the contrary of the Prelates, *ut quisque vir est optimus, ita illorum factis magis offendi*. The better any man is, the more hee is offended at their dealings. And all that can be objected against this party will bee like that in *Tertullian*, *Bonus vir Caius Seius, sed malus tantum quia Antiprelatus*. *Tertull. adver. Gent.*

But he entertaines us with *our Divisions and Subdivisions*, and [illegible] the Puritans and the Brownists with their [illegible]. And this is that the Heathens objected to the Christians, their Factions were so many, they knew not which Religion

to chuse if they should turne Christians: And can it bee expected that the Church in any age should be free from divisions, when the times of the Apostles were not free? and the Apostle tells us, it must needes bee that there bee divisions: in *Greg. Naz.* dayes there were 600 Errours in the Church; doe these any waies derogate from the truth and worth of Christian Religion?

But as for the Divisions of the Antiprelaticall party, so odiously exaggerated by this Remonstrant: Let it assure your Honours, they have beene much fomented by the *Prelates*, whose practise hath beene according to that rule of *Machiavill: Divide & Impera*, and they have made these divisions, and afterwards complained of those which their Tyranny and Policy hath made. It is no wonder considering the pathes our Prelates have trod, that there are Divisions in the Nation. The wonder is our Divisions are no more, no greater; and wee doubt not but if they were of that gratious spirit, and so intirely affected to the peace of the Church as *Greg. Naz.* was, they would say as he did in the tumults of the people, *Gubernemus in navi, & non erit tempestas*; rather then they would hinder that sweet *Concordance*, and conspiration of minde unto a Government that shall bee every way agreeable to the rule of Gods word, and profitable for the edification and flourishing of the Church.

A second thing, wee cannot but take notice of, is the pathes this *Author* takes to advance his *Prelaticall Church*: and forgetting what hee had said in the beginning: *that their party was so numerous, it could not be numbred*, tells us now, *their seven all reasons are generally entertained*. But we doubt not but your Honours will consider that there may be *multi homines & pauci viri*. And that there are more against them then for them.

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And whereas they pretend, that they differ from us onely in a Circumstance of the Government, (which however is no contemptible difference) yet it will appeare that the differences are in point of Superiority and Subjection, though this Remonstrant leaves it in his mentioned Queries.

What

What are the bounds of this Church? what the distinction of the professors and Religion? what grounds of faith? what new Creede doe they hold different from their Neighbours? what Scriptures? what Baptisme? what meanes of Salvation other then the rest? yet if hee pleased he might have silenced his owne Queries: but if hee will needs put us to the answer, we will resolve them one by one. Pag. 41.

First, if hee aske what are the bounds of this Church, we answer him out of the sixt of their late founded Canons: where we finde the limits of this Prelaticall Church extend as as farre as from the high and lofty Promontory of Archbishops, to the *Terra incognita* of an, &c.

If what *Distinction of professors and Religion*; we answer their worshiping towards the East, and bowing towards the Altar, prostituting themselves in their approaches into Churches, placing all Religion in outward formalities are visible differences of these professors and their Religion.

If what new Creede they have, or what grounds of Faith differing from their Neighbours, we answer; Episcopacy by divine right is the first Article of their Creede. Absolute and blinde obedience to all the commandements of the Church (that is the Bishop and his Emissaries) election upon faith foreseene, the influence of workes into *Iustification*, falling from grace, &c.

If what Scripture, we answer; the Apocrypha and unwritten Traditions.

If what Baptisme? a Baptisme of absolute Necessity unto salvation; and yet insufficient unto salvation: as not sealing grace to the taking away of sinne after Baptisme.

If what Eucharist? an Eucharist that must bee administred upon an Altar or a Table set Altar-wise, rayled in, an Eucharist in which there is such a presence of Christ, (though *Modum nescimus*) as makes the place of its Administration the *throne of God*, the place of the *Residence of the Almighty*; and imprinteth such a holinesse upon it as

makes it not onely capable but worthy of Adoration.

If what Christ? a Christ who hath given the same power of absolution to a Priest that himselfe hath.

If what Heaven? a heaven that hath a broad way leading thither, and is receptive of Drunkards, Swearers, Adulterers, &c. such a heaven as we may say of it, as the the Indians said of the heaven of the Spaniards: unto that heaven which *some of the Prelatick all Church* living and dying in their *scandalous* sinnes, and hatefull enormities goe to, let our soules never enter.

If what meanes of salvation? wee answer, confession of sinnes to a Priest as the most absolute, undoubted, necessary, infallible meanes of Salvation.

Pag. 41. Farre be it from us then to say with this *Remonstrant*, we doe fully agree in all these and all other Doctrinall and Prelatical points of Religion, & preach one and the same saving truths. Nay, wee must rather say as that holy Martyr did, *We thanke God we are* none of you.

Pag. 42. Nor doe we because of this dissension feare the censure of uncharitablenesse from any but uncharitable men; But it is no unusuall thing with the Prelats and their party, to charge such as protest against their corrupt opinions and wayes with uncharitablenes and schisme, as the Papists do the Protestants, and as the Protestants justly recriminate, and charge that Schisme upon the Papists, which they object to us. So may wee upon the Prelats: and if *Austin* may be Iudge, the Prelates are more Schismatickes then wee. *Quicunque* (saith hee) *invident bonis, ut quærant occasiones excludendi eos, aut degradandi, vel crimina sua sic defendere parati sunt, (si objecta vel prodita fuerint) ut etiam conventiculorum congregationes vel Ecclesiæ perturbationes reputent excitare, jam schismatici sunt.* Whosoever envie those that are good, & seeke occasions to exclude & degrade them, & are so ready to defend their faults, that rather then they will leave them, they will devise how to raise up troubles in the Church, and drive upon mutinous Conventicles and corners, they are the Schismatickes.

And that all the world may take notice what juſt cauſe we have to complaine of Epiſcopacy, as it now ſtands, we humbly crave leave to propound theſe *Queries*.

Queries about Epiſcopacy.

1. WHether it be tolerable in a Chriſtian Church, that Lord Biſhops ſhould be held to be *Iure Divino*. And yet the Lords day by the ſame men to be but *Iure Humano*. And that the ſame perſons ſhould cry up *Altars* in ſtead of *Communion Tables*, and *Prieſts* in ſtead of *Miniſters*, and yet not *Iudaize*, when they will not ſuffer the Lords day to be called the Sabbath day, for feare of *Iudaizing*. Whereas the word *Sabbath* is a generall word, ſignifying a day of reſt, which is common as well to the Chriſtian Sabbath, as to the Iewiſh Sabbath, and was alſo uſed by the Ancients, *Ruffinus in Pſal.* 47. *Origen. Hom.* 23. *in Num. Gregory Nazian.*

2. Whether that aſſertion, No Biſhop, No King, and no Ceremony, no Biſhop, be not very prejudiciall to Kingly Authoritie: For it ſeemes to imply, that the Civill power depends upon the Spirituall, and is ſupported by Ceremonies and Biſhops.

3. Whether ſeeing it hath beene proved that Biſhops (as they are now aſſerted) are a meere humane Ordinance, it may not by the ſame Authoritie be abrogated, by which it was firſt eſtabliſhed; eſpecially, conſidering the long experience of the hurt they have done to Church and State.

4. Whether the advancing of Epiſcopacy into *Ius Divinum*, doth not make it a thing ſimply unlawfull to ſubmit to that Government, Becauſe that many conſciencious men that have hitherto conformed to Ceremonies and Epiſcopacy, have done it upon this ground, as ſuppoſing that Authoritie did not make them matters of worſhip, but of Order and Decency, &c. And thus they ſatisfied their conſciences in anſwering thoſe Texts, *Coloſ.* 2. 20.

21, 22. *Mat.* 15. 9. But now since Episcopacy comes to be challenged as a Divine Ordinance, how shall wee be responsable to those Texts. And is it not, as it is now asserted become an Idoll, and like the Brazen Serpent to be ground to powder?

5. Whether there be any difference in the point of Episcopacy betweene *Ius Divinum* and *Ius Apostolicum*. Because we finde some claiming their standing by *Ius Divinum*, others by *Ius Apostolicum*. But wee conceive that *Ius Apostolicum* properly taken, is all one with *Ius Divinum*. For *Ius Apostolicum* is such a *Ius*, which is founded upon the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, written by them so as to be a perpetuall Rule for the succeeding Administration of the Church, as this Author saith *pag.* 20. And this *Ius* is *Ius Divinum*, as well as *Apostolicum*. But if by *Ius Apostolicum*, they meane improperly (as some doe) such things which are not recorded in the writings of the Apostles, but introduced, the Apostles being living, they cannot be rightly said to be *jure Apostolico*, not such things which the Apostles did intend the Churches should be bound unto. Neither is Episcopacy as it imports a superiority of power over a Presbyter, no not in this sense *jure Apostolico*, as hath beene already proved, and might further be manifested by divers Testimonies, if need did require. Wee will onely instance in *Cassander*, a man famous for his immodetate moderation in controverted Points of Religion, who in his *Consultat. Articul.* 14. hath this saying; *An Episcopatus inter ordines Ecclesiasticos ponendus sit, inter Theologos & Canonistas non convenit. Convenit autem inter omnes, in Apostolorum etate inter Presbyterum & Episcopum nullum discrimen fuisse, &c.*

6. Whether the distinction of *Beza*, betweene *Episcopus Divinus, Humanus, & Diabolicus*, be not worthy your Honours consideration. By the Divine Bishop, he meanes the Bishop as he is taken in Scripture, which is one and the same with a Presbyter; By the humane Bishop he meanes the Bishop chosen by the Presbyters to be President over them, and to rule with them by fixed Lawes

and

and Canons. By the Diabolicall Bishop he meanes, a Bishop with sole power of Ordination and Iurisdiction, Lording it over Gods heritage, and governing by his owne will and Authoritie. Which puts us in mindes of the Painter, that limmed two Pictures to the same proportion and figure: The one he reserved in secret, the other he exposes to common view. And as the phansie of beholders led them to censure, so their [illegible] not done to the life, he mends it. If any fault be found with the eye, hand, foote, or the like, still at last the addition of every mans phansie had defaced the first figure, and made that which was the Picture of a man, swell into a monster. Then bringing forth this and his other Picture which he had drawne, he presented both to the people. And they abhorring the former, and applauding the latter, he cryed, *Hanc populus fecit*. This the deformed one the people made. This lovely one I made. As the Painter of this painting so in Rome since, he may be said of Bishops, God ordained first and Bishops such as at all one with Presbyters: And such are notable honourable in all the Churches of God. But when men would be adding to Gods institution, what power, preheminence, Iurisdiction, Lordlinesse their phansie suggested unto them, this divine Bishop lost his Office all together, and became [illegible] conclusion (by these and other additions swelling into a Pope) Diabolicall.

Hanc populus fecit.

Whether since that Bishops are not one and the same with Presbyters, I will not dispute. Onely I will shew what the ancient Fathers of the Church have said in this behalfe. That they were called Bishops of Rome, Ephesus, Hierusalem, &c. in a very improper sense, because they abode in those places longer then other Apostles (which are Bishops over the whole world) did the Apostles made Timothy and Titus Evangelists,

and

lists, &c. It seemes to us that it would have beene a great [illegible] them to limit themselves to one particular Dioceſſe, and to leave that calling in which Christ had placed [illegible]

3. Whether since Presbyters in Scripture are called [illegible] and that it is an office required at their hands, to rule and to governe, as hath beene proved in this Booke, [illegible] can without sinne arrogate the exercise of this power to themselves alone? And why may they not (with the best Lawyers) appropriate to themselves alone the Key of doctrine (which yet notwithstanding all would condemne) as well as the Key of Discipline, seeing that the whole power of the Keyes is given to Presbyters in Scripture as well as to Bishops; as appeares, Matth. 18. 19. Where the power of the Keyes is promised to Peter, in the name of the rest of the Apoſtles, and their successours, and given to all the Apoſtles, and their successors, Matth. 18. 19. Iohn 20. 23. And that Presbyters succeed the Apoſtles, appeares no lesse by Matth. 28. 20. by which the Apoſtle readily to leave the Church of Ephesus commends the care of ruling and feeding it to the Elders of that Church. To this Peter witnesseth, 1 Epist. 5. 1, 2, 3. Thus Bishop [illegible] against Harding, Art. 40. fol. 55. saith, that all Pastors have equall power of binding and loosing with [illegible]

9. Whether since that Bishops assumed to themselves power temporall (to be Barons and to sit in Parliament, as Judges, and in Court of Star-Chamber, High-Commissions and other Courts of Iustice) and also power spirituall over Presbyters (to ordaine, silence, suspend, deprive, excommunicate, &c.) their spirituall power be not as dangerous (though both be dangerous) and as much to be opposed as their temporall? 1. because the spirituall is ouer-rooted in conscience, the temporall but ouer [illegible] 2. Because spirituall judgements and evills are greater

then

then other sinnes. 4. because the Pope was Antichrist, before he did assume any temporall power. 5. Because the Spirituall is more inward and lesse discerned: and therefore it concernes all those that have Spirituall eyes and desire to worship God in spirit and truth to consider and endeavour to abrogate their Spirituall usurpations as well as their Temporall.

10.

Whether *Aerius* be justly branded by *Epiphanius* and *Austin* for an Hereticke (as some report) for affirming Bishops and Presbyters to be of an equall power.

We say, as some report, for the truth is so, he is charged with heresie meerely and onely because hee was an *Arian*. As for his opinion of the parity of a Presbyter with a Bishop; this indeede is called by *Austin*, *proprium dogma Aerij*, the proper opinion of *Aerius*. And by *Epiphanius* it is called *Dogma furiosum* and *stolidum*, a mad and fooliſh opinion, but not an Heresie neither by the one nor the other. But let us suppose (as is commonly thought) that he was accounted an Heretike for this opinion: yet notwithstanding, that this was but the private opinion of *Epiphanius*, and borrowed out of him by *Austin*, and an opinion not to be allowed appeares;

Epiphanius saith hee did *Arium ipsum dogmatum novitate superare.*

Austin saith in *Arianorum haresin lapsum*

First because the same Authors condemne *Aerius* as much for reprehending and censuring the mentioning of the dead in the publique prayers, and the performing of good workes for the benefit of the dead. And also for the reprehending *stata jejunia*, and the keeping of the weeke before Easter as a solemne fast; which if worthy of condemnation, would bring in most of the reformed Churches into the censure of Heresie.

Epiphan. accused him because hee said that *superstitum preces* did not *opitulari eis qui ex hac vita discesserint.* And *Austin* accused *Aerius* because hee said, *Non licet orare, vel offerre pro mortuis oblationem.*

Secondly, because not onely Saint *Hierom* but *Austin* himselfe, *Sedulius*, *Primasius*, *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophilact*, were of the same opinion with *Aerius* (as *Michaell Medina*, observes in the Councell of *Trent*, and hath written *Lib.* 1°. *de sacr. hom. Origine*) and yet none of these deserving the name of Fooles, much lesse to be branded for Heretikes.

Thirdly, because no Counsell did ever condemne this

for Heresie; but on the contrary, *Concilium Aquisgranense sub Ludovico Pio Imp. 1. a. 816.* hath approved it for true Divinity out of the Scripture: That Bishops and Presbyters are equall, bringing the same texts that *Aerius* doth, and which *Epiphanius* meerely undertakes to answer; but how slightly let any indifferent Reader Judge.

Whether the great Apostacy of the Church of Rome hath not been, in swarving from the discipline of Christ, as well as from the doctrine. For so it seemes by that text 2. *Thess.* 2. 4. And also, *Revel.* 18. 7. and divers others. And if so, then it much concernes all those that desire the purity of the Church to consider, how neer the discipline of the Church of England borders upon Antichrist; lest, while they indeavour to keepe out Antichrist from entring by the doore of doctrine, they should suffer him secretly to creepe in by the doore of discipline: especially considering, what is heere said in this booke; That by their owne confession, *the discipline of the Church of England is the same with the discipline of the Church of Rome.*

Whether Episcopacy bee not made a place of Dignity, rather then Duty, and desired only for the great revenues of the place? And whether, if the largenesse of their revenues were taken away, Bishops would not decline the great burden and charge of soules necessarily annexed to their places, as much as the ancient Bishops did, who hid themselves, that they might not bee made Bishoppes and cut off their eares, rather then they would bee made Bishops: whereas now Bishops cut off the eares of those that speake against their Bishopricks.

How it comes to passe, that in England there is such increase of Popery, superstition, Arminianisme, and prophanenesse more then in other reformed Churches? Doth not the root of these disorders proceed from the Bishopps and their adherents, being forced to hold correspondence with Rome, to uphold their greatnesse, and their Courts and Canons, wherein they sympbolize with Rome? And whether it bee not to be feared, that they will rather consent

Whitaker *respons. ad Campian. rat.* 10. hath these words: *Aerium Epiphanius & Augustinus in hæreticis numerant, & præter eos antiqui pauci. Et si Presbyterem Episcopo æquare sit hæreticum, nihil Catholicum esse potest. Cum Aerio Hieronymus de Presbyteris omnino sensit. Illos enim jure divino Episcopis æquales esse statuit.*

11.

12. *Sozomen hist. lib. 6. cap.* 10.

13.

sent to the bringing in of Popery, for the upholding of their dignities, then part with their dignities for the upholding of Religion?

14. Why should England that is one of the chiefest Kingdomes in Europe, that separates from Antichrist, maintaine and defend a discipline different from all other reformed Churches, which stand in the like separation? And whether the continuance in this discipline will not at last bring us to the communion with Rome, from which we are separated, and to separation from the other reformed Churches, unto which wee are united?

15. Whether it bee fit, that the name Bishop, which in Scripture is common to the Presbyters with the Bishops (And not only in Scripture, but also in Antiquitie for foure hundreds of yeares) should still bee appropriated to Bishops, and ingrossed by them, and not rather to bee made common to all Presbyters; and the rather because:

First wee finde by woefull experience that the great Equivocation that lyeth in the name Bishop hath beene and is at this day a great prop and pillar to uphold Lordly Prelacy, for this is the great *Goliah*, the master-peece, and indeede the onely argument with which they thinke to silence all opposers: To wit, the antiquity of Episcopacie, that it hath continued in the Church of Christ for 1500 yeares, &c. which argument is cited by this Remonstrant *ad nauseam usque & usque*. Now it is evident that this argument is a *Paralogisme*, depending upon the Equivocation of the name Bishop. For Bishops in the Apostles time were the same which Presbyters in name and office, and so for a good while after. And then afterwards they came to be distinguished. The Bishops of the Primitive times differed as much from ours now, as Romanists from Rome at this day, as hath beene sufficiently declared in this booke. And the best way to confute this argument, is by bringing in a Community of the Name Bishop to a Presbyter as well as to a Bishop.

Secondly, because wee finde that the late innovations which have so much disturbed the peace & purity of our Church, did first beginne with the alteration of words, & by changing the word Table into the word Altar; and the word Minister, into the word Priest; and the word Sacrament into the word Sacrifice, have endeavored to bring in the Popish Masse. And the Apostle exhorts us, 2. *Tim.* 1. 13. *To hold fast the forme of sound words*: and 1 *Tim.* 6. 20. *to avoide the prophane novelties of words*. Upon which Text we will onely mention what the Rhemists have commented, which we conceive to be worthy consideration (*Nam instruunt nos non solum docentes, sed etiam errantes*) The Church of God hath alwaies beene as diligent to resist Novelties of words, as her adversaries are busie to invent them, for which cause shee will not have us communicate with them, nor follow their fashion and phrase newly invented, though in the nature of the words sometimes there be no harme. Let us keepe our forefathers words, & we shall easily keepe our old and true faith, that we had of the first Christians: let them say Amendment, abstinence, the Lords Supper, the Communion Table, Elders, Ministers, Superintendent, Congregation, so be it, praise ye the Lord, Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer and the rest, as they will. Let us avoide those novelties of words, according to the Apostles precept, and keepe the old termes, Penance, Fast, Priest, Church, Bishop, Masse, Matins, Evensong, the B. Sacrament, Altar, Oblation, Host, Sacrifice, Hallelujia, Amen, Lent, Palme-Sunday, Christmasse, and the words will bring us to the faith of our first Apostles, and condemne these new Apostates, new faith and phrase.

Quest. 16. Whether having proved that God never set such a government in his Church as our Episcopall Government is, we may lawfully any longer bee subject unto it, be present at their Courts, obey their injunctions, and especially be instruments in publishing, and executing their Excommunications and Absolutions.

And thus we have given (as we hope) a ſufficient anſwer, and as briefe as the matter would permit, to *The Remonſtrant*. With whom, though we agree not in opinion touching *Epiſcopacy* and *Liturgy*; yet wee fullyconſent with him, to pray unto Almighty God, *Who is great in power, and infinite in wiſdome, to powre downe upon the whole Honourable Aſſembly, the Spirit of wiſdome and underſtanding, the ſpirit of Councell and might, the ſpirit of knowledge and of the feare of the Lord. That you may be able to diſcerne betwixt things that differ; ſeparate betweene the pretious and the vile, purely purge away our droſſe, and take away all our tinne; roote out every plant that is not of our heavenly Fathers planting. That ſo you may raiſe up the foundations of many generations, and be called The Repairers of breaches, and Reſtorers of paths to dwell in.* Even ſo,

Amen.

FINIS.

FINIS.

A POSTSCRIPT.

THough wee might have added much light and beauty to our Discourse, by inserting varietie of Histories upon severall occasions given us in the *Remonstrance*, the answer whereof we have undertaken; especially where it speakes of the *bounty* and *gracious Munificence* of *Religious Princes* toward the *Bishops*, yet unwilling to breake the thread of our discourse, and its connexion with the *Remonstrance*, by so large a digression, as the whole series of History producible to our purpose, would extend unto: Wee have chosen rather to subjoyne by way of *appendix*, an historicall Narration of those bitter fruits, *Pride, Rebellion, Treason, Unthankefulnesse*, &c. which have issued from *Episcopacy*, while it hath stood under the continuall influences of Soveraigne goodnesse. Which Narration would fill 4 volumes, but wee will bound our selves unto the Stories of this Kingdome, and that revolution of time which hath passed over us since the erection of the *See* of *Canterbury*. And because in most things the beginning is observed to be a presage of that which followes, let their Founder *Austin* the *Monke* come first to be considered. Whom wee may justly account to have beene such to the English, as the Arrian Bishops were of old to the Goths, and the Jesuites now among the Indians, who of Pagans have made but Arrians and Papists. His ignorance in the Gospell which he preached is seene in his crafty and Jesuiticall Consultations with the Pope, about things cleane and uncleane; his proud demeanour toward the British Clergy, appeares in his coun- *Bed. Holinsh. Speed.*

sell called about no solid point of faith, but celebration of Easter, where having troubled and threatned the Churches of Wales, and afterwards of Scotland, about Romish Ceremonies, he is said in fine to have beene the hinderer up of *Ethelbert*, by meanes of the Northumbrian King, to the slaughter of twelve hundred of those poore laborious Monkes of Bangor. His Successors busied in nothing but urging and instituting Ceremonies, and maintaining precedency we passe over.

Holinsh. out of *Capgrave. Osborn, Higden.*

Till *Dunstan*, the Sainted Prelate, who of a frantick Necromancer, and suspected fornicator, was shorn a Monk, and afterwards made a Bishop. His wonderly deeds are noted by *Speed* to have beene the cheating King *Edred* of the treasure committed to his keeping, the prohibiting of marriage, to the increasing of all filthinesse in the Clergy of those times; as the long Oration of King *Edgar* in *Stow* well testifies.

Edw. Conf.

In *Edward* the Confessors dayes, *Robert* the Norman no sooner Archbishop of Canterbury, but setting the King and Earle *Godwine* at variance for private revenge broached a civill warre, till the Archbishop was banisht.

Holinsh. 191.

Will. Conq.

Now *William* the Conqueror had set up *Lanfrank* Bishop of Canterbury, who to require him (poore unfaithfull) service to the Pope, *Gregorie* in perswading the King to subject himselfe and his state to the Papacy, as himselfe writes to the Pope, *Sumsi, sed non persuasi.*

Speed. pag. 442.

Will. Ruf.

The treason of *Anselm* to *Rufus* was notorious, who not content to withstand the King obstinately in money matters made suit to fetch his Pall or investiture of Archbishopacy from Rome, which the King denying as flat against his regall Soveraignetie, he went without his leave, and for his Romish good service received great honour from the Pope, by being seated at his right foot in a Synod, with these words, *Iustum duximus tuam in urbe nostra religionem alterius orbis Papam.* Whence perhaps it is that the See of Canterbury hath affected a Patriarchy in our dayes. This *Anselm* also condemned the married Clergie.

Henry

Henry the first reigning, the same *Anselm* deprived those Prelates that had beene invested by the King, and all the Kingdome is vext with one Prelate, who the second time betakes himselfe to his old fortresse at Rome, till the King was faine to yeeld. Which done, and the Archbishop returned, spends the rest of his dayes in a long contentious and unchristian jangling with *York* about Primacie. Which ended not so, but grew as hot betweene *York* and *London*, as Dean to Canterbury, striving for the upper seate at dinner, till the King seeing their odious pride, put them both out of dores. *Henry* 1. *Holinsh.* 37.

To speake of *Ralf* and *Thurstan*, the next Archbishops, pursuing the same quarrell, were tedious, as it was no small molestation to the King and Kingdome, *Thurstan* refusing to stand to the Kings doom, and wins the day, or else the King must be accurst by the Pope; which further alienates him to try the maistry with *William* next Archbishop of Canterbury, and no man can end it but their Father the Pope, for which they travell to Rome. In the meane while, marriage is sharply decreed against, *Speed* 448. and the Legate *Gratianensis*, the declaimer against matrimony taken with a strumpet the same night. *Holinsh.* 38. *Holinsh.* 42. 43.

In King *Stephens* Reigne, the haughty Bishops of Canterbury and Winchester bandy about precedency; and to Rome to end the deale. *Theobald* goes to Rome against the Kings will; interdicts the Realme, and the King force't to call him in; till refusing to crowne *Eustace* the Kings sonne, because the Pope had so commanded, he flies againe. *K. Stephen.* *Holinsh.* 57. 58. 59.

Becket pride and outragious treasons are too manifest; refusing the Kings gift of his Archbishoprick to receive it of the Pope; detaining the Custody of Rochester Castle and the Tower of London, as belonging to his Seigniorie; seekes withdrawing Priests from the temporall sword; standing stiffe for the liberties and dignities of Clerkes, but little to chastise their vices, which besides other cryings out, were above a hundred murthers since *Henry* the seconds crowning, till that time: to maintaine *Henry* 2. *Speed.* 467. out of *Nubrigens.*

Yet this mans life is lately printed in English as a thing to be imitated.

which, most of the Bishops conspire, till terror of the King made them shrink; but *Becket* obdures, denies that the King of Englands Courts have authoritie to judge him. And thus was this noble King disquieted by an insolent traytor, in habit of a Bishop, a great part of his Reigne; the land in uproar; many excommunicate, and accursed. France and England set to warre, and the King himselfe curbed, and controlled; and lastly, disciplin'd by the Bishops and Monkes, first with a bare foot penance, that drew blood from his feet, and lastly, with foure score lashes on his anointed body with rods.

Holinsh. 70.

Speed. 469.

In the same Kings time it was that the Archbishop of York, striving to sit above Canterbury, squatts him down on his lap, whence with many a cuffe he was throwne downe.

Hol. pag. 98.

Richard 1.

Next the pride of *W. Longchamp*, Bishop of Elie, was notorious, who would ride with a thousand horse, and

Pag. 129.

of a Governour in the Kings absence, became a Tyrant;

130.

for which flying in womans apparell he was taken.

132.

To this succeeds contention between Canterbury and York, about carriage of their crosses, and Rome appeal'd

144.

to: the Bishop of Durham buyes an Earldome.

K. John.

No sooner another King, but *Hubert* another Archbishop to vex him, and lest that were not enough, made Chancellor of England. And besides him, *Geffry* of York, who refusing to pay a subsidy within his precincts, and therefore all his temporalities seaz'd; excommunicates the Sheriffe, beats the Kings officers, and interdicts his whole Province. *Hubert* outbraves the King in Christmasse house-keeping; hinders King *John* by his Legantine power from recovering Normandy. After him *Stephen Langton*, set up by the Pope in fright of the King, who opposing such an affront, falls under an interdict, with his whole Land; and at the suit of his Archbishop to the Pope, is depos'd by Papall Sentence; his Kingdome given to *Philip* the French King, *Langton* friend, and lastly, refuses, and submits his Crowne to the Pope.

Speed. 503.

Speed. 509.

After

After this tragicall *Stephen*, the fray which *Boniface*, the next Archbishop but one had with the Canons of Saint *Bartholomew* is as pleasant; the rearing of Hoods and Cowles, the mixing of Copes, the flying about of waxe Candles, and Censors in the scuffle cannot bee imagined without mirth; as his cathes were loud in this bickering, so his curses were as vehement in the contention with the Bishop of *Winchester* for a slight occasion. *Hen.* 3. *Stow* 188. *Hol.* 247.

But now the Bishops had turned their contesting into base and servile flatteries, to advance themselves on the ruine of the Subjects. For *Peter de Rupibus*, Bishop of *Winchester* perswading the King to displace English Officers and substitute Poictovines, and telling the Lords to their faces, that there were no Peeres in *England*, as in *France*, but that the King might doe what he would, and by whom hee would, became a firebrand to the civill warres that followed. *Speed* 529. 530.

In this time *Reyner* Archbishop of *Cant.* in a Synod was tempering with the Kings liberties, but beeing threatned desisted. But his successor *Winchelsey* on occasion of Subsidies demanded of the Clergy, made answer, that having two Lords, one Spirituall, the other Temporall, he ought rather to obey the Spirituall, then the Pope, but that he would send to the Pope, to know his pleasure, and so persisted even to beggerie. The Bishop of *Durham* also cited by the King flies to *Rome*. *Edward* 1. *Hol.* 280. *Hol.* 301. *Hol.* 325.

In the deposing of this King who more forward, then the Bishop of *Hereford*, who left his Sermon at *Oxford*, my head, my head aketh, concluding that an aking, and sicke head of a King was to bee taken off without further physicke. *Edward* 2. *Speed* 574.

John the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, suspected to hinder the Kings glorious victories in *Flanders*, and *France*, by stopping the conveyance of moneys committed to his charge, conspiring therein with the Pope. But not long after was constituted that fatall *præmunire*, which was the first nipping of their courage, to seeke aide at *Rome*. And next to that, the wide wounds that *Wickliffe* made in their *Edward* 3. *Speed* 586. *Hol.* 409.

Richard 2.

Hol. 478.

pag. 506.

Henry 4.

pected, that the King did not favour

pag. 514.

Speed 631.

Hol. 589.

Henry 5.

the Gospel preached by *Wiclef*, follow

Speed 638.

Henry 6.

Hol. 596.

pag. 620.

Edward the fourth, *Neuill* Archbishop of *Yorke*, one of the chiefe conspirators with *Warwicke* against *Edward* the fourth, and afterwards his loyall subject, being by *Warwicke* treason committed to this Bishop. *Edward 4.* *Speed 699.*

In *Edward* the fifths time, the Archbishop of *Yorke* was, although perhaps unwittingly (yet by a certaine fate of Prelacie) the unhappie instrument of pulling the young Duke of *Yorke* out of Sanctuary, into his cruell uncles hands. *Edward 5.*

Things being setled in such a peace, as after the bloodie brawles was to the afflicted Realme howsoever acceptable, though not such, as might bee wished: *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, inticing the Duke of *Buckingham* to take the Crowne, which ruined him, opened the vaines of the poore subjects to bleede afresh. *Richard 3.*

The intollerable pride, extortion, bribery, luxurie of *Wulsey* Archbishop of *Yorke* who can bee ignorant of? selling dispensations by his power Legantine for all offences, insulting over the Dukes and Peeres, of whom some hee brought to destruction by bloody policie, playing with State affaires according to his humour, or benefit: causing *Tarway* got with the blood of many a good Souldier, to bee rendred at the French Kings secret request to him, not without bribes; with whom one while siding, another while with the Emperour, hee sold the honour and peace of *England* at what rates he pleased, and other crimes to bee seene in the Articles against him, *Hol.* 912. and against all the Bishops in generall. 911. which when the Parliament sought to remedie, being most excessive extortion in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, the Bishops cry out, sacriledge, the Church goes to ruine, as it did in *Bohemia*, with the Schisme of the *Hussites*, *ibid.* After this, though the Bishops ceased to bee Papists; for they preached against the Popes Supremacie, *Henry 8.* *Hol.* 845. 462. *Speed* 784.

magie, to please the King, yet they ceased not to oppugne the Gospel reviving *Tindalls* translation to bee burnt: yet they agreed to the suppressing of Monasteries, leaving their revenewes to the King, to make way for the sixe bloodie Articles which proceedings with all cruelsit of inquisition are set downe *Hol. 992.* *Hollinsh. pag.* 946 till they were repealed the second of *Edward* the sixth, stopping in the meane while the cause of reformation well begunne by the Lord *Cromwell*. And this mischiefe was wrought by *Steven Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*. The sixe Articles *Speed 792.* are set downe in *Speed pag.* 792.

Speed *Statut Hen.* 8. *Anno* 35. *cap.* 5. *Edward* 6.

The Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes*, his hindring of *England* and *Scotland* union, for feare of reformation. *Speed.* 794.

As for the dayes of King *Edward* the sixth, wee cannot but acknowledge to the glory of the rich mercy of God, that there was a great reformation of Religion made even to admiration. And yet notwithstanding we do much dislike the humour of those, that cry up those dayes as a compleate patterne of reformation, and that endeavour to reduce our religion to the first times of King *Edward*, which wee conceive were comparatively very imperfect, there being foure impediments which did much hinder that blessed worke.

1. The three rebellions. One in *Henry* the eighths time, by the Priests of *Lincolne* and *Yorkeshire*, for that reformation which *Cromwell* had made. The other two in King *Edwards* dayes. One in *Cornewall*, the other in *Yorkeshire*.

2. The strife that arose suddenly amongst the Peeres emulating one anothers honour. *Speed pag.* 837.

3. The violent opposition of the Popish Bishops, which made *Martin Bucer* write to King *Edward* in his booke *de Regno Christi, Lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. and say, your Majesty doth see, that this restoring againe the Kingdome of

Christ,

Christ, which we require, yea, which the salvation of us all requireth, may in no wise be suspected to come from the Bishops, seeing there be so few among them which doe understand the power and proper offices of this Kingdome; and very many of them by all meanes (which possibly they can find out) neither oppose themselves against it, or doe so much as hinder it.

The deficiency of zeale and courage even in these Bishops who afterwards proved Martyrs, witnesse the sharpe contention of *Ridley* against *Hooper*, for the ceremonies. And the importunate suite of *Cranmer* and *Ridley* for tolleration of the Masse for the Kings sister, which was rejected by the Kings, not onely reasons, but teares; whereby the young King shewed more zeale then his best Bishops. 839.

The inhumane butcheries, blood-sheddings, and cruelties of *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and the rest of the Bishops in Queene *Maries* dayes are so fresh in every mans memory, as that we conceive it a thing altogether unnecessary to make mention of them. Only we feare least the guilt of the blood then shed should yet remaine to be required at the hands of this nation, because it hath not publikely indeavored to appease the wrath of God by a generall and solemne humiliation for it.

What the practises of the Prelats have beene ever since, from the beginning of Queene *Elizabeth* to this present day would fill a volume (like *Ezekiels* roule) with lamentation, mourning and woe to record. For it hath beene their great designe to hinder all further reformation; to bring in doctrines of Popery, Arminianisme and Libertinisme, to maintaine, propagate and much increase the burden of humane ceremonies: to keepe out, and beate downe the preaching of the word, to silence the faithfull Preachers of it, to oppose and persecute the most zealous professors, and to turne

all religion into a pompous outside. And to tread downe the power of godlinesse. Insomuch as it is come to an ordinary Proverb, that when any thing is spoyled we use to say, *The Bishops have had a cut.* And in all this (and much more which might be said) fulfilling Bishop *Bonners* Prophesie, who when he saw that in King *Edwards* reformation, there was a reservation of ceremonies and Hierarchy is credibly reported to have used these words, *Since they have begunne to taste of our broath, it will not bee long ere they will eate of our Beefe.*

FINIS.

A DEFENCE OF THE Humble Remonſtrance,

Againſt the frivolous and falſe exceptions of

SMECTYMNVVS.

WHEREIN

The right of *Leiturgie* and *Epiſcopacie* is clearly vindicated from the vaine cavils, and challenges of the ANSWERERS.

By the Author of the ſaid *Humble Remonſtrance.*

Seconded (in way of appendance) with the judgement of the famous Divine of the Palatinate,

D. ABRAHAMVS SCVLTETVS,

Late Profeſſor of DIVINITIE in the UNIVERSITIE of HEIDELBERG:

Concerning the Divine Right of EPISCOPACIE, and the No-right of LAY-ELDERSHIP.

Faithfully Tranſlated out of his Latine.

LONDON,

Printed for NATHANIEL BUTTER in *Pauls* Church-yard at the pyde-Bull neare *St. Auſtins gate.* 1641.

DEFENCE

Humble Re

SMECTYMNUV

Late Professor

Printed for NATHANIEL

TO THE KINGS MOST SACRED MAIESTIE.

Most dread Soveraigne,



Our Majesty was pleased to cast a gracious eye upon a late Humble Remonstrance, *made to the High Court of Parliament, bemoaning the lawlesse frequence of scandalous Libels, and modestly asserting the true right of* Liturgie *and* Episcopacie. *I little thought that so meek and gall-lesse a Discourse could have irritated any the least opposition; But now, I find to my griefe, that even to move for Peace, is*

quarrell enough; and feele many fists about my eares, ere I could imagine to have offended. Occasion is taken from those quet lines, to combine forces against the Cause I maintained. The quarrell is insolently managed by many unknowne hands; Yet, the riot of these impotent Assailants should not easily have drawn me forth, had I not perceived that their confident ostentation and proud carriage in this affray, hath won them some (how undeserved soever) opinion of skill, with their credulous Abettors; and thereby, some disadvantage to my just cause. As one therefore that hates to betray the truth by an unfaithfull silence, I doe cheerfully enter these lists; rejoycing to hope that Your Majesties Eye may be the Judge and Witnesse of my successe. Neither shall it be displeasing to Your Ma-

Majeſtie, that Your moſt honourable Peeres, and moſt faithfull Commons, now aſſembled, ſhall ſee the injuſtice, and ungroundedneſſe of that bold Appeale, which was made to them, by my daring Anſwerers; whoſe Abilities I taxe not, but their Fidelity I muſt; as thoſe who have ſought foulely to abuſe their implored Judges with falſe ſhews of miſ-alledged Antiquity, and meerly colourable pretences of proofs: VVhich if I doe not make good to them and the world in this enſuing Diſcourſe, let the blemiſh of reputation lead way to the ſharpeſt cenſure upon the perſon of

Your Majeſties

zealouſly-loyall Subject,

The moſt humble Remonſtrant.

Dedication.

A DEFENCE OF THE Humble Remonstrance.

Sect. I.

MY single *Remonstrance* is encountred with a plurall Adversary that talks in the style of *We*, and *Vs*: Their names, persons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know; But, could they say, *My name is Legion, for we are many*; or were they as many Legions as men, my cause, yea Gods, would bid me to meet them undismaid, and to say with holy *David*, *Though an hoast should incamp against me, my heart shall not feare*: The truth of God, which I Psal. 27. 3.

maintaine, ſhall beare me up againſt the diſcouragements of my confeſſed weakneſſe; In which juſt confidence I doe gladly fly to the Bar of this high and honourable Court, craving no favour but juſtice.

Beſides number, theſe men think perhaps to carry it by bulk; for thoſe that ſpare not to condemne the multitude of my few words, laſh out into ſo tedious an Anſwer, that if I ſhould return them a Reply in the ſame proportion, the Readers eye would be tyred with the very proſpect, and his tongue could not but ſay, *Quis leget hæc?* But, though they have had ſo little mercy on him, as to put him to the penance of their long-ſome Volume, I dare not abuſe his leaſure in following them in every ſtep of their looſe and ſuperfluous diſcourſe; but ſhall ſo contract their laviſh ſheets, as that whiles I ſave time, I ſhall not loſe ought of truth.

Acts 17.22. *Areopagus Mars-hill*, or *The Court of Arcopagites.*

And firſt, theſe briefe men complaine of the length of my *Preface*; and fetch their grounds afar off, from the admired ſons of Juſtice, the *Areopagi*: The *Areopagi*? who were thoſe? Truly my maſters, I had thought this had been the name of the place, not of the

the men. It is an ill ſigne, they ſay, to ſtumble at the threſhold. And what ſay the admired *Areopagi*, the grave Judges of Athens? They condemne Prefaces, and Paſſion; neither of which can be juſtly charged upon the *Remonſtrance*: For the Paſſion, let any Reader judge, whether ought can be more calmly, more mildly written; and for the Preface, brethren, your cenſure is palpably miſtaken; for that which you miſ-call the *Preface*, is one of the maine pieces of the ſubſtance of that intended Diſcourſe, which was a too juſt complaint of the ſhamefull number of Libels, lately dropped from our lawleſſe Preſſes; A point no leſſe conſiderable, nor leſſe eſſentiall to that propoſed *Remonſtrance*, then thoſe, which your peremptory *Analyſis* makes the onely ſubject thereof. I beſeech you brethren, ſpend your Logique upon your own Works, let mine be ſuch as I contrive them.

Thoſe trifling cavils which you are pleaſed to make at ſome phraſes of this miſ-named *Preface*, are not worth notice; It is not for us to run after the ſpending of every mouth: Belike, it angers you, to heare of the honeſty *Branded*, and *miſlik't*, &c.

of my moderate Paper, out of the conſcience of your owne guiltineſſe. Faine would you excuſe that which the world cryes ſhame on, the multitude of the late ſeditious Pamphlets; whereat you might well bluſh in ſilence; when an honourable perſon in open Parliament could reckon up no leſſe then ſevenſcore, that had paſſed the Preſſe ſince the beginning of this Seſsion.

Pag. 4. Thoſe other verball exceptions are but light froth, and will ſink alone; that ſcum may be worth taking off, which followes; wherein I ſhall deſire all indifferent eyes to judge, whether theſe men doe not endeavour to caſt unjuſt envie upon me, againſt the cleare verdict of any knowing mans conſcience: In comparing of Governments of Churches and States, I had ſaid, that if Antiquity may be the rule, the Civill Politie (as in generall notion) hath ſometimes varied, (as that of the State of Rome had done to ſeven ſeverall formes) the Sacred, never; The Civill came from arbitrary impoſers, the Sacred from men inſpired: theſe gracious Interpreters would needs draw my words to the preſent, and particular Government of our owne

owne Monarchie, as if I implyed that to be variable and arbitrary; and are not aſhamed to mention that deadly name of *Treaſon*; Whereas no man that is not wilfully blinde, ſees that I ſpeak of the common formes of Government, that are in the ſeverall States and Dominions in the world; whereof ſome are ruled by an Ariſtocracie, others by a Democracie, others by a Monarchie, whether limited, or abſolute, others by a mixed form of all theſe; which were in their firſt beginnings, in the free arbitrement of their Founders; not aiming at the ſetled Government of any one Kingdome, much leſſe of our owne.

Brethren, whiles you deſire to ſeem godly, learne to be leſſe malicious. In the meane time, God bleſſe all good men from ſuch charity, and our ſacred Monarchy from ſuch friends. The forme of the Epiſcopall Government of the Church hath, contrarily, been ever one and the ſame, without any conſiderable variation; and if it have anywhere invaded the Civil adminiſtration and yoked Monarchy, it is the inſolence of the perſons, not the fault of the Calling: And

if *William Rufus*, a Prince noted for grosly irreligious, oppressed by tyrannicall Popish Prelates, did let fall this cholerick word, that he would have the Jews confute them, and that rather then faile, England should turn Jewish, on this condition; Is this an argument for any Christian to use, for the confuting of godly, and loyall Protestant Bishops? which are ready to be censured rather for too great observance of Soveraignty? Let any but a Jew judge, whether this be a fit instance for a Christian. Any thing serves against Episcopacie; The testimony of a Pope, (whom these men honour highly) *Pius* 4. is also brought in as irrefragable, against the Divine right of Bishops. And what sayes Antichrist? He tels the Spanish Ambassador, that his Master, suing for the Councels declaration of this truth, knew not what he demanded; for Bishops so declared, would be exempted frō his Regall power, and as independent as the Pope himselfe. Tell me, brethren, Do ye like, or beleeve this assertion, because a Pope said it? Or can ye blame him (who would have all Episcopall Jurisdiction derived meerly from himselfe) to be unwilling that their right

right ſhould be yeelded to have the ſame grounds which he pretends for his owne? And if there might be this danger in thoſe Kingdomes where the Clergy challengeth an exemption from the power of all Secularity; why is this enviouſly upbraided to thoſe of ours, who doe gladly profeſſe, notwithſtanding the Apoſtolicall, that is, Divine right of their Calling, to hold their places and exerciſe of their Juriſdiction wholly from His Majeſty?

Not leſſe ſpitefull, nor more true, is your obſervation of the compariſon made betweene the indeavours of alteration in our neighbour Church, by our Epiſcopall faction, and that which is now juſtly deſired by the humble Petitioners to the honourable Houſe. It is a foule ſclander to charge the name of Epiſcopacie with a faction, for the fact imputed to ſome few. Fie, brethren, are ye Presbyters of the Church of England, and dare challenge Epiſcopacie of faction? Had you ſpoken but ſuch a word in the time of holy *Cyprian*, whom you frequently cite, as a patterne of good diſcipline, what had become of you? Neither is the wrong leſſe, to make

make application of that which was most justly charged upon the practises, and combinations of libelling Separatists, to humble and peaceable Petitioners; the one railing down-right upon an established and holy Government, whom I deservedly censured, the other modestly suing for a reformation of the abuses of Government: Surely, whiles the worst are thus patronized by our indulgent answerers, it is an hard question, Whether the Libellers themselves, or these their mis-zealous Advocates, are more justly to be branded for Incendiaries.

Sect. II.

After this overflowing of your gall, you descend to the two maine subjects of this quarrell, Liturgy, and Episcopacie. I had truly said, that our Liturgie hath been hitherto esteemed sacred, reverently used by holy Martyrs, frequented by devout Protestants, as that which hath been confirmed by Edicts of religious Princes, and our owne Parliamentary Acts. *And hath it so?* say you; *Whence*

Whence then proceed ſo many Additions and Alterations, that have changed the face, and fabricke thereof? Additions and *Alterations*? What in the preſent Liturgy? where or what? tell me, I beſeech you brethren, are they viſible, or are they not? If not, how come ye to ſee them? if ſo, why cannot we? perhaps ſomewhere in ſtead of *Prieſt*, there is *Miniſter*; perhaps, *Abſolution* is interpreted by a *Remiſſion*; perhaps in private baptiſme, there is mention of a *lawfull Miniſter*; perhaps in ſtead of *Purificatiõ of women*, there is *Thankſgiving*. And can ye know the book whẽ ye ſee it againe, after theſe *Alterations*, theſe *Additions*? Is it not now with this miſ-altered Liturgy, as with the diſguiſed dames mentioned of old by D. *Hall* (whõ you name, I dare ſay, for honors ſake) ſo miſhapen by their monſtrous faſhions, that their redivived Granſires could not now know thẽ? Can ye but bluſh at this envious and groundleſſe ſuggeſtion?

And why ſhould not I ſpeake of Martyrs, as the authors, and uſers of this holy Liturgy? why ſhould not we glory in their name and authority? ſleight you them as you pleaſe, we bleſſe God for ſuch Patrons of our good cauſe: What a poore returne is

this? Whiles I tell you what our holy Martyrs did, You tell me what one of our Bishops said; As if we were bound to make good every word that falls from the mouth of every Bishop: Even of the best man we may say as the Psalmist doth of *Moses, effutiit labiis,* he spake unadvisedly with his lips; As for the words themselves, If a Bishop have said, that our Liturgy hath beene so wisely and charitably framed, as that the Devotion of it yeeldeth no cause of offence to a very Popes eare, as onely aymingat an uncontroversory Piety, I see not what hainous fault can herein be imputed to the speech, or the author: Would you thinke it requisite that we should chide, and quarrell when we speake to the God of Peace?

It is no little advantage therefore both to our cause and Piety, that our Liturgie is taught to speake severall Languages, both for use and example, and thereby, our Church hath gained much justification and honor: As for that sharp censure of learned M^r. *Calvins, Tolerabiles ineptiæ,* how ever it might well have beene forborne by him, *in alienâ republicâ*; and by you, to presse it upon our owne;

we

we honor the name of that noble inſtrument of Gods glory in his Church, yet withall, we feare not to ſay, without any diſparagement to his worth, that our Liturgie both in the frame, and ſurvay of it, paſſed the judgement of no leſſe reverend heads then his owne: Neither would you thinke it could become any of our greateſt Divines, to medle with the wafers, or Lords-day markets of his charge; let every Church take care of their owne affaires.

As for that unparalleld diſcourſe of mine, concerning the Antiquity of Liturgies; unparalleld, you ſay, becauſe no man, that you have ſeene, ever drew the line of Liturgy ſo high as I have done; I muſt tell you, that perhaps there may be ſome things in the world, that may have eſcaped your not-omniſcient eyes, and perhaps this may be one; I cannot helpe your wonder, but I ſhall juſtifie my owne Aſſertion. In the meane while, ye doe almoſt yeeld the queſtion, ere ye argue it; *If by Liturgie* (you ſay) *this Remonſtrant underſtand an Order obſerved in Church aſſemblies, of praying, reading, and expounding the Scriptures, adminiſtration of Sacraments, &c. Such a Liturgie we*

know, and acknowledge, both Iewes and Christians, have used; This yeelded, what stick you at? That there were prescribed, and stinted formes composed by particular men in the Church, and imposed upon the rest, this will not downe with you; Wherein I cannot see, how ye will avoid your own contradiction; For I demand; Is this order of praying and administration set, or no? If it be not set, how is it an order? and if it be a set order both for matter and forme (for you cannot, I suppose, under the name of *an order*, intend *a meere Table, or Rubrick*) how can it be other, then prescribed? If the formes were meerely arbitrary, to what use was the prescription of an Order? and, if they were not arbitrary, certainly they were in some sort stinted and imposed.

But what a poore exception is this? that *they were composed by some particular men*; Was it ever heard that a whole Church together framed a forme of prayer? Can one uniforme expression bee the originall act of many thousand braines, and tongues? Certainly, some one, or few, must mold that, which all shall both owne, and use. It is a

silly

ſilly oſtentation of Antiquity, that theſe men bring againſt theſe preſcribed formes of Liturgie.

Tertullian in his Apol. Chap. 30. ſayes, *The Chriſtians of thoſe times did in their Aſſemblies pray for the Emperour,* **Sine monitore, quia de pectore*, that is, *not being urged by any ſuperiour injunction, but freely out of the loyall inclination of their owne hearts*: (You miſ-engliſh it, *Without any prompter but their owne hearts.*) What is this to a preſcribed forme? Or if they will needs ſo take it, why do they not as well argue, That becauſe our Miniſters doe ordinarily in their Pulpits pray for the King in their owne expreſsions, therefore there is no forme of Liturgie injoyned? As for their other teſtimony, it is leſſe to the purpoſe, Who ever denyed that ſome things are to be asked according to every mans occaſion? Doe we abridge this liberty, by ordaining a publike forme? And if the Lords Prayer be yeelded for an ordinary and ſtinted

* If we may not rather take it to allude to the manner of the Heathens, who becauſe their gods were *multinomines*, according to their ſeverall powers and vertues, had certaine monitors to put the ſuppliants in mind of the appellations of their Deities, as *Deſiderius Heraldus* thinks; and to this purpoſe brings that of S. *Auguſtine*, cited out of *Seneca*; as hee reads it, *Alius numina Dei ſubjicit*; or as *Lipſius*, *nomina*; however it cannot give the leaſt colour to the ſenſe intended by the Anſwerers.

forme, why not others? Since the opposers of stinted forms, do, upon the same grounds, decrie that also. S. *Austin* saies, it is free to aske the same things that are desired in the Lords Prayer, *aliis atq; aliis verbis*, (in other wayes of expression) who ever doubted of it? Yet themselves will not dare to hold, that * in S. *Austins* time, there was no publique Liturgie; this is but to mock the Reader.

Aug. Ep. 121

Aug. de bon. persever. c. 22. *Utinam tardi corde sic audirent disputationes nostras ut magis intuerentur orationes nostras, quas semper habuit, & habebit Ecclesia ab exordiis suis, usq; dum finiatur seculum.*

If *Iustin Martyr* said, that [ὁ προεστὼς] (whom they somewhat guiltily translate The Instructer of the people) prayed (as they falsly turne it) according to his ability: It it true; So doe ours, and yet God be thanked wee have a Liturgie, and so had they. Neither is this liberty of pouring out our selves in our prayers ever the more impeached by a publique forme, since both those may, and doe well stand together.

Just. Mart. Apol. 2. The words are, ὅση δυνάμις: That is, with all intention; and implyed in that of the same *Justin Martyr*, ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχας πέμπομεν.

It is somewhat magisterially said by these men, that *Set and imposed formes were not introduced*

duced, till the Arrian and Pelagian hereſies did invade the Church; and as clerkly doe they immediately confute themſelves, by their owne teſtimonies cited out of the Councel of Laodicea, which was before their limited time, as being before the Nicene: and betwixt that and the Neocesarean. Nothing can be more full then the Canon of that ancient Synode, That the ſame Liturgie of prayers ſhould be alwayes uſed both in morning and evening. Yet to mend the matter, *This* (ſay they) *was a forme of a mans owne preſcribing*: Were it ſo, wherein is that the better? But how appears it? By another Canon in a following Councel, which was the third Councel of Carthage, *c.* 23. As if Carthage meant to tell what was before done at Laodicea. And what ſay the Fathers at Carthage? That in aſſiſting at the Altar, (ſo are their words) the Prayer ſhould be directed to the Father, & *quicunq; ſibi preces aliunde deſcribit*: That is, whoſoever ſhall offer to make uſe of any other forme then is preſcribed, ſhould firſt confer with his more learned brethren: Plainly implying

Conc. Laod c. 19. First the prayers of the *Catechumeni* preceded, then thoſe of the Penitents followed, then thoſe of the Faithfull concluded.

ὡς εἰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῆς ἐυχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐννάταις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι.
Con. Laod. c. 8

implying the contrary to that, for which the Anſwerers alledge it, That the uſuall and allowed forme was not of his owne compoſing; and his owne muſt not be at his owne choiſe. That of the Milevitane Councel is ſhuffled up by the Anſwerers, not with too much fidelity; for where they pretend the onely drift of the Councel to be, that none ſhould uſe ſet prayers, but ſuch as were approved of in the Synode, The words of the Councel are full and affirmative, *Placuit ut preces*, It is ordered that the prayers or oriſons which are allowed in the Synod, &c. ſhall be uſed or celebrated by all men; *nec aliæ omnino dicantur*, and that no other ſhall be uſed in the Church, then thoſe, &c. approved in a Synod; adding a ſound reaſon, *ne fortè aliquid*, &c. Leſt perhaps ſomething may be compoſed by them, through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the faith.

Concil. Milev. 2. cont. Celeſt. & Pelag.

Nothing can be more plaine then that our Saviour preſcribed to his Diſciples (beſides the rules) a direct forme of Prayer, whiles he ſaith, *Pray thus*: Much of which forme I find cited, as of ancient uſe, out of the *Seder Tephilloth* of the Jews of Portugall, the Antiquity whereof

whereof, as not knowing how I might avow, I expreſſed my ſelfe (within three daies of the firſt impreſſion) in the ſafe termes of the immedate edition; which theſe men will not be pleaſed to take notice of, leſt they ſhould finde their mouthes to be ſtopt before-hand; and ſo they ſhould have loſt their deare quarrell. Howſoever, that it may not ſeeme too ſtrange, that our Saviour ſhould take up the formes, and uſages, that had formerly obtained; ſurely, that he was pleaſed to make uſe, in the Celebration of his laſt, and heavenly banquet, of both the faſhions, and words which were uſuall in the Jewiſh feaſts, *Caſſander* hath well ſhewed in his *Liturgica*.

The ſet formes of prayer, that were uſed at the *Mincha*, and other the ſeverall occaſions of the Jewiſh ſacrifices, I finde ſpecified by learned *Cappellus* in his *Spicilegium*, to whom I referre the reader.

See Dr Hammonds papers to mr Cheynel: p. 25 et ſeq. & p. 109 et ſeq.

In the meane while, ſince they make ſuch wonder of a ſet forme, uſed by Gods people, ever ſince *Moſes* his time, I ſhall give them ſuch a hint thereof, as perhaps they have not heard of, before: In the Samaritane Chronicle, now in the hands of the incomparable

Primate of *Ireland*, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Armach*, by him procured out of the Library of the famouſly learned *Joſ. Scaliger*, thus they ſhall finde; After relation of the death of *Adrian* the Emperour (whom theſe Jewes curſe with a *Deus conterat ejus oſſa*) which in their computation falls upon the yeare 4513. from *Adam*; *Quo tempore abſtulit*, &c. At which time ſay they, * he tooke away that moſt excellent book which was in their hands, ever ſince the calme and peaceable times of the Iſraelites, which contained thoſe ſongs, and prayers, which were ever uſed before their ſacrifices; For before every of their ſeverall ſacrifices, they had their ſeverall ſongs, ſtill uſed in thoſe times of peace; all which accurately written, were tranſmitted to the ſubſequent generations, from the time of *Moſes*, (the Legat) unto this day, by the miniſtery of the high Prieſt; This book, did that high Prieſt embezell, wherein was contained their Genealogies, to the dayes of *Phineas*, together with an hiſtoricall enarration of the yeares of their generation, and life; Then which book, there is no hiſtory beſides the Bookes of *Moſes*, found more ancient

Poſteà mortuus eſt Adrianus (Cujus Deus non miſereatur) obiitq; cum luctu magno, &c.

* (*viz.* the high Prieſt then living)

ancient; Thus that ancient Record.

That there were such forms in the Jewish Church we doubt not, but that they should be deduced to the use of the Church Evangelicall, to save the labour of their devotions, is but a poore and groundlesse requisition.

Buxtorfius tells us that the Creed of R. Ben Maimon was taken out of the Jews Liturgy.

Those formes which we have under the names of S^t. *Iames*, (who was, as *Egesippus* tells us, the first Bishop and *Leiturgus* of *Hierusalem*) of *Basil*, and *Chrysostome*, though they have some interfertions which are plainly spurious, yet the substance of them cannot be taxed for other then holy, and ancient: And the implication of the ancient Councell of *Ancyra* is worthy of observation, which forbids those Presbyters that had once sacrificed, προσφέρειν, ὁμιλεῖν, ἢ λειτουργεῖν τὰ τῆς ἁγιαλίνων λειτουργιῶν. to offer, or to preach, or to serve in the holy Liturgies, or administrations; Howsoever, I perswade my selfe every ingenuous reader finds reason and authoritie enough in this undeniable practise of antiquity, to out-face an upstart conceit, of some giddie heads, that condemne all formes of prayer (be they never so holy) because such.

Now what should a man doe with such

ſullen and crabbed pieces as theſe? If he croſſe them in plaine termes, he is falſe? If he comply with them in good words, he Rhetoricates? What have I profeſſed concerning conceived prayers, but that which I ever allowed, ever practiſed, both in private, and publike? God is a free Spirit, and ſo ſhould ours be, in prowring out our voluntary devotions, upon all occaſions; Nothing hinders, but that this liberty, and a publique Liturgie ſhould be good friends, and may goe hand in hand together; and whoſoever would forcibly ſever them, let them beare their owne blame; I perceive, this is it which theſe techie men quarrell, and diſlike, that I make the applauſe of conceived prayer, but a vantage-ground to lift up the publique forme of our ſacred Church-Liturgy the higher; which they are indeed loth ſhould ſtand upon even termes, yea above ground, profeſſedly wrangling, firſt, *at the Originall*, then *the confirmation of it*: For the firſt, I had ſaid our Liturgie was ſelected out of ancient modells; including, in a parentheſis [not *Roman* but *Chriſtian*] and thereby ſignifying (as any ingenuous reader would conſtrue it) that

that our ſaid Liturgie had no relation either to the place, or religion of Rome, but onely to the Chriſtian and holy matter of thoſe godly prayers. Now theſe charitable men fly out into high termes, and beſeech your Honours to conſider, *How ye may truſt theſe men, who ſometimes ſpeaking, and writing of the Roman Church, proclaime it a true Church of Chriſt, and yet here, Roman and Chriſtian ſtand in oppoſition.* Ignorantly, or maliciouſly? when any man may ſee here is not an oppoſition meant, but a different modification: As when the Prophet ſayes, *I am a worme, and no man,* Or; the Apoſtle, *It is no more I, but ſin,* Or; *I live, yet not I but Chriſt liveth in me*: Neither is any phraſe more common in our uſuall ſpeech. In what ſenſe we hold the Roman, a true Church, is ſo cleared by the unanimous Suffrages of unqueſtionable Divines, that this iron is too hot for their fingers. Being then thus qualified, our Liturgie needs not be either aſhamed of its originall, (publiſhed in King *Edwards* Proclamation) or blankt with their unjuſt aggravation.

The compoſers of it we ſtill glory to ſay, were holy Martyrs, and Confeſſors of the

bleſſed Reformation of Religion; and if any rude hand have dared to caſt a foule aſperſion on any of them, he is none of the Tribe I plead for, I leave him to the reward of his owne merits: Thus compoſed, and thus confirmed by the recommendation of foure moſt religious Princes, and our owne Parliamentary Acts, they dare not abſolutely diſcharge it; but they doe as they may, nibble at it in a double exception, *The one of the over-rigorous preſsing of it, to the juſtling out of Preaching, and conceived Prayer*, which was never intended either by the Law-makers, or moderate Governours of the Church; *The other, that neither our owne Lawes, nor K. James his Proclamation are ſo unalterable as the Lawes of the Medes and Perſians.* Which bold flout, how well it becomes their gravity, and pretended obedience, we leave at either Bar.

After an over-comprehenſive recapitulation of their exploits in this mighty Section, they deſcend to two maine *Quere's*, whereof the firſt is, *Whether it be not fit to conſider of the alteration of the preſent Liturgie*; Intimating herein, not an alteration in ſome few expreſſions, excepted againſt, but a totall alteration in

in the very frame of it, as their reaſons import. Yet doubtleſſe, Sirs, ye may conſider of it; it is none of the Lawes of the Medes and Perſians. What if the weak judgement of K. *Iames*, upon ſome pretended reaſons, decreed all forbearance of any farther change? What if that ſilly and ignorant Martyr, Dr *Taylor*, could magnifie it to B. *Gardner*, and others, as complete? What if great Elogies and Apologies have been caſt away upon it, by learned men, ſince that time? What if Innovations in Religion be cryed out of, as not to be indured? yet conſider of the alteration: Neither need ye to doubt but that this will be conſidered by wiſer heads then your own; and whatſoever ſhall be found in the manner of the expreſsions fit to be changed, will doubtleſſe be altered accordingly; but the maine fabrick of it, which your reaſons drive at, my hope is we ſhall never ſee to undergoe an alteration: Yet ſtill doe you conſider of this your projected alteration, whiles I conſider ſhortly of the great reaſons of your conſideration.

Firſt, it ſymboliſeth much with the Popiſh Maſſe: Surely neither as Maſſe, nor as Popiſh: If an holy

holy Prayer be found in a Roman Portuiſe, ſhall I hate it for the place? If I find gold in the channell, ſhall I throw it away becauſe it was ill laid? If the Devils confeſſed Chriſt the Son of God, ſhall I diſclaime that truth, becauſe it paſſed through a damned mouth? Why ſhould we not rather allow thoſe good prayers, which ſymbolize with all Chriſtian piety, then reject thoſe which dwel amongſt ſome ſuperſtitious neighbours?

2. *It was compoſed*, you ſay, *into this frame, on purpoſe to bring Papiſts to our Churches.* Well, had it been ſo, the project had been charitable, and gracious. What can be more thank-worthy, then to reclaime erring ſoules? *But it failed in the ſucceſſe.* Pardon me, brethren, if it had done ſo, it was neither the fault of the matter, or of the men; but it did not: Sir *Edward Coke* can tell you, that till the eleventh yeare of Qu. *Elizabeth*, all came to Church: Thoſe times knew no Recuſant then: At laſt, the Jeſuitiſh Caſuiſts, finding their great diſadvantage by the inoffenſive uſe of our Liturgie, determined it utterly unlawfull to joyne in Church-ſervice with Heretiques. Hence came this alienation, hence this diſtraction, that we have not

In his ſpeech at Norwich Aſſizes, publiſhed. N

not won more; it is not the fault of our publique devotion, why doe you not impute it to the want, or weakneſſe in preaching rather? But that our Liturgy hath loſt any to the Popiſh part, it is not more paradoxe then ſclander.

Thoſe ſtumbling blocks which you ſay our Liturgy laies before the feet of many, are by many removed, and amongſt the reſt, by a blind man; whoſe eye-leſſe head directed, how to avoid thoſe blocks, which theſe quick-ſights will needs ſee, how to ſtumble at. But if there be found ought that may indanger a ſcandall, it is under carefull hands to remove it. 3 *M. Fiſher.*

It is Idoliz'd, they ſay, *in England*; they meane at *Amſterdam*; ſome Separiſts have made it ſuch; never any juſt Proteſtant: others ſay rather that too many doe injuriouſly make an Idoll of preaching; ſhall we therefore conſider of abandoning it? and if ſome one have paſſed an hyperbolicall praiſe of it, muſt it therefore be marred in mending? 4

Multitudes of people, (they ſay) *diſtaſt it*; more ſhame for thoſe that have ſo miſtaught 5

them; (would God too much multitude did not, (through ill teaching) diſtaſt the truth of wholſome doctrine, and abhorre Communion with the true Church of Chriſt) ſhall we to humour them, abandon both?

6. *There is a vaſt difference,* (they ſay) *betweene it and the Liturgies of all other reformed Churches;* A difference? wherein? not in the eſſentiall points, but in ſome accidents, and outward formalities; Whoſe fault is that? ours was before theirs; why did not they conforme to us; rather, then we come backe to them? I may boldly ſay, ours was, and is the more noble Church; and therefore more fit to lead, then to follow: But indeede ſince our Languages, and Regions are different, what neede is there, our Liturgies ſhould be one? and why ſhould we bee more tyed to their formes, then thoſe of all other Chriſtians, Grecians, Armenians, Copths, Abaſſine, Arabian, Egyptian? all which differ in no leſſe from each other, then we from them: Conſider now, brethren, whether theſe reaſons of a change be worthy of any conſideration.

The

The second *Quære* is so weak, that I wonder it could fall from the pens of wise men; *Whether the first reformer of religion did ever intend the use of a Liturgie, further then to be an helpe in the want, and to the weakneſſe of the Miniſter*; Brethren, can ye thinke that our Reformers had any other intentions then all other the founders of Liturgies, through the whole Christian, yea and Jewish Church? the least part of whose care was the help of the Ministers weakneſſe, and their maine drift the helpe of the peoples devotion; that they knowing before-hand, the matter, that should be sued for, and the words wherewith it should be clothed, might be the more prepared to joyne their hearts to the Ministers tongue, and be so much more intent upon their devotion, as they had leſſe neede to be distracted with the doubtfull expectation of the matter, or words to be delivered.

It is no leſſe boldly then untruly said, that *all other Churches reformed, though they use Liturgies, doe not binde their Miniſters to the use of them*; [Binding] is an ambiguous word; I am sure both the French, and Dutch,

I beseech you tell me brethren, how you construe those words of *Calvin* which he wrote to the Protector of England. *Anno* 1548.

Oct. 22. *Quod ad formulam precum et rituũ Ecclesiasticorum, valde probo ut certa illa extet à qua pastoribus discedere non liceat in functione sua; tam ut consulatur quorundam simplicitati & imperitiæ, quam ut certius ita constet omnium inter se ecclesiarum consensus, postremo etiam, &c.* That is; As for a forme of prayers, and of rites Ecclesiasticall, I do greatly approve that there be a certaine one extant from which it should not be lawful for the Ministers in their function to depart: both that by this meanes provision may be made for the simplicity, and unskilfulnesse of some, and the consent of all Churches amongst thẽselves may more certainly appeare; Lastly that thus there may be a remedy for the desultory levity of some men that affect still certaine innovations; as I have showed that the Catechisme it selfe serves for this purpose. So therefore there ought to be a set forme of Catechisme, a set forme of administration of Sacraments, and of publique Prayers.

Churches (In both which I have beene present) require their prescribed formes, to be used both in Baptisme, and in Celebration of the Lords Supper, and in solemnization of Matrimony: And in what ranke will they place the Lutheran Churches? And if the reformed Churches use this liberty, what a poore handfull are they to that world of Christian Churches abroad, which doe both use & injoyne their Liturgy, in that first forme we have seene urged in the Melevitane Councell.

2 The Rubricke in King *Edwards* booke is mis-construed, which only out of respect to the peoples ease, and their more willing addiction to the hearing of Sermons, (which were then so much more long as they were more rare) gave that liber-

ty

ty to Miniſters in the uſe of the Liturgy, which divers Ordinaries at this day (upon my certaine knowledge) have often yeelded unto: That Rubrick imports no more then our practiſe; neither of them diſparages our Liturgie.

3. *The Homilies are left free* (they ſay) *to be read or not, by preaching Miniſters; why not then the Liturgie? And if it can be thought no leſſe then ſacriledge to rob the people of the Miniſters gift in preaching, and to tie him to Homilies, it can be no leſſe to deprive them of their gift in Prayer.* Did we utterly abridge all Miniſters of the publique uſe of any conceived Prayer, on what occaſion ſoever, the argument might hold force againſt us; but, that being yeelded, our Liturgie is untouched: Neither were it a leſſer ſacriledge to rob the people of a ſet forme, by the liberty of a free expreſsion: And how doth this argument more ſtrike us then all the Churches of the Chriſtian world, whoſe preaching is out of their conception, whiles their Liturgie is injoyned?

4. It is a falſe ground, that the impoſing of the Book tyes godly men from exerciſing their gift in Prayer: An injoyned Liturgie

may well ſtand with the freedome of a Prayer conceived: The Desk is no hinderance to the Pulpit: He is wanting to his duty, that ſlackneth either ſervice.

5. Much leſſe can this be any reaſon to keep men from their preſence at our Church-ſervice, that a Liturgie is impoſed. Tell me, Is this Liturgie good or evill? If it be evill, it is unlawfull to be uſed; If good, it is not unlawfull to be impoſed: And were the impoſition amiſſe, what is that to the people? It is impoſed upon the Miniſter; that whether act, or paſsion reſts in him, the people are no more concerned in it, then if a Miniſter ſhould tye himſelfe to the uſe of a Prayer of his owne making, (as I have knowne ſome of the moſt famous Divines of this Kingdome conſtantly do:) If then there be no way left to recover the people to a ſtinted prayer, but by leaving it free to uſe, or not to uſe, Oh miſerably miſ-led people, whom nothing, belike, can reclaime, (after ſuch doctrine inſtilled) but a profeſſed confuſion! Well may they object to themſelves in this way, diviſions and diſturbances, following upon a perfect deformity; and ſooner may they object

then

then avoid them. *But why more here* (they say) *then in other Reformed Churches?* The difference is evident, Our Churches have never been but used to a settled Liturgie, which the eares and hearts of our people look for; Theirs, perhaps, began without it: Yet so, as I doubt not but if any man should now refuse to conforme to their established formes, hee should soone feele the dint of their censures. The like answer serves for their objected Homilies: Surely were they enjoyned to all, by lawfull Authority, and made so familiar to the eares of every congregation, as the Liturgies is, some few could not forbeare them without offence, whiles withall, they should be allowed the helps of preaching: As in this case it is done, the use of the set Liturgie being seconded by prayers conceived. But the project is singular, *That if any Ministers should prove insufficient to discharge the duty of Prayer in a conceived way, it may be imposed upon him as a punishment to use set formes, and no other.* Never Confessor injoyned such a penance; Never Law-maker imposed such a mulct: Certainly it were a more just and needfull motion, that many who take upon them to preach,

(with

(with no ſmall abuſe of Gods ſacred Word) might (as in way of correction) be injoyned onely to reade Homilies: But who ſees not in this overture, an utter caſſation of that Liturgie which is pretended to be left free? For if the freedome of a ſole conceived prayer ſhall depend upon the ſuppoſed ſufficiencie of the Miniſter, ſhew me the man amongſt five hundred of the forward Artizans, that will confeſſe, or think himſelfe inſufficient for the act, or unfurniſhed with the gifts of Prayer? Away then with the Book, whiles it may be ſupplied with a more profitable nonſenſe. Surely, where God hath beſtowed gifts, it is fit they ſhould be imployed, and improved to the beſt advantage of his people: But where there is nothing but an empty over-weening, and proud ignorance, there is great reaſon for a juſt reſtraint.

SECT. III.

THus their cavils concerning the Liturgie are vaniſhed, we deſcend to the longer quarrell of Epiſcopacie: Where it is their ill

ill hap to ſtumble again at the entring into theſe Liſts: beginning their anſwer (pardon good reader) with a manifeſt leaſing; whiles they dare ſay, that *whatſoever hath beene either ſpoken, or written by any, either learned Divines, or well reformed Churches, is taxed by me, as no other then the unjuſt clamours of weake, or factious perſons*: Certainly, had I done ſo, I had beene no leſſe worthy to be ſpit upon, for my ſaucy uncharitableneſſe, then they are now for their uncharitable falſhood: After my complaints of the many railing invections, and ſcandalous Libells publiſhed of late, I came now to bemone my ſelfe to that high Court "of Juſtice, in theſe words; As for that "forme of Epiſcopall government which "hath hitherto obtained in the Church of "God, I confeſſe I am confounded in my "ſelfe to heare with what unjuſt clamours "it is cryed downe abroad, by either weake "or factious perſons; *Abroad* (I ſay) in relation to both Houſes, leſt any malicious perſon ſhould have traduced my words, as reflecting upon any free ſpeech, made in either of them, againſt ſome of that calling; alluding to that impious licentiouſneſſe of our

frequent Libellers, both in the City and Countrey, which ſhamefully revile Epiſcopacy, as wicked and Antichriſtian; Now come theſe brotherly ſlanderers (ſure the termes can be no better) and would needs wier-draw my words as farre as France, Germany, or Geneva it ſelfe; and cry out of my Arrogancy, as condemning all Divines, all Churches; which the God of heaven knowes never came within the verge of my thoughts; Yea, if I could have beene ſo abominably preſumptuous as to inlarge my [*abroad*] to other Nations; yet I beſeech you, readers, how well this followes; Epiſcopall government is with unjuſt clamors cryed downe abroad, by either weake or factious perſons, therefore, whoſoever ſpeakes or writes againſt Epiſcopacy, is either weake or factious: Brethren, if you have any remainders of modeſty, or truth, left in you, cry God mercy for this egregious and palpable calumnie.

Quanquam deſceſſit veteris confuſus amici, Juvenal.

Of the ſame ſtraine is their witty deſcant upon my *confoundedneſſe*; I made uſe of the phraſe, as that which is taken up by the moſt elegant Greeke and Latine authors, to expreſſe

preſſe extreame ſorrow, theſe deepe Philologers, (as not ſeeming to know other ſenſe) take it of a confoundedneſſe, through diſtraction; *ſure the man is not in his right wits*: Μῶροι, μανόμενον ἀγόμεθα; And how ſo, trow we? *Heare how he raves? He talkes of all peaceable and right affected ſons of the Church, and craves an admittance in all their names, whereas all could not take notice of his booke; doubtleſſe a deepe phrenſie*; Brethren, I am ſtill, and ſhall ever be thus ſelfe-confounded, as confidently to ſay, that he is no peaceable, and right affected ſonne of the Church of England, that doth not both hate Libells, and wiſh well to Liturgy and Epiſcopacy; both which ſumme up my humble Remonſtrance.

But this ſlippe, they confeſſe, is ſmall, that other is worthy of a large Dos of Ellebore; that I ſay, *Epiſcopall government, that is, government by Dioceſan Biſhops, derives it ſelfe from the Apoſtles times; this* (they ſay) *they cannot but ranke amongſt my notorious*——ſpeake out Maſters; I would not have that word ſticke in your teeth, or in your throate; and why is this truth ſo notorious? *becauſe there were no Dioceſans of above an hundred yeares after Chriſt.*

Now readers, I beſeech you, caſt backe your eyes upon thoſe Lines of mine; and ſee, whether I make any mention at all of Dioceſans; but onely of the ſacred government by Epiſcopacy; Wanton wits muſt have leave to play with their owne ſterne; Brethren, what needs this importunity? Even ſelfe-confounded men doe not alwayes ſpeake falſe; What the joynt-confeſsion of all reformed Divines is concerning the derivation of Epiſcopacy from the Apoſtolike times, I have elſewhere ſhewed from ſome, in the name of all; and ſhall doe againe in the due place; to what purpoſe were this unſeaſonable anticipation? Indeed no true Divine did ever hold otherwiſe; The queſtion never was, Whether Biſhops were derived from the Apoſtles, But what kinde of Biſhops they were: For us, if we not deduce ours from them in reſpect of all the eſſentialls of our calling, let the ſhame be ours. Whereas I ſay the government hath continued without any interruption, they aske jeeringly, *what at Rome?* and tell me of ſome places of the world, as *Scotland* for example, wherein this government was never knowne for many yeares

yeares together. Brethren, what means this, whether ſimplicity, or ſcorne? Could yee imagine me to meane, that every place through the whole world hath had a continued Line of Biſhops, ever ſince the Apoſtles? ſure you cannot wrong your owne judgements; Alas, we could tell you of China, Japan, Peru, Braſil, New-England, Virginia, and a thouſand others, that never had any Biſhops to this day: Yet it is never the leſſe ſafe to ſay, that the forme of Government by Biſhops in the Chriſtian world, derives it ſelfe (without interruption) from the Apoſtles times; for as much as there hath been no time, or age ſince them, wherein there hath not been this forme of Epiſcopall Government continued. You tell me, that *In ancient times the Scots were inſtructed by Prieſts, and Monks, and were without Biſhops two hundred and ninety years.* I acknowledge the words of *Iohannes Major*, I wiſh they had not been without, either before, or ſince; but what is this to my aſſertion? There could be no interruption of that, which had as yet no being: neither did I ever ſay that Biſhops were every where.

You come to England, there you think to have me ſure; you deſire to know of the Remonſtrant, *Whether God had a Church in England in Q.* Maries *dayes or no?* And *If ſo, who were then Biſhops?* Sure, brethren, you cannot be ſo ignorant as you make your ſelves; Have you not ſeen M^r *Foxes* Acts and Monuments? Have ye not ſeen M^r *Fr: Maſons* Vindication of our ſucceſsion? Or doe ye make no difference betwixt an intermiſsion and an interruption? Doe ye not know that even the See of Rome, (which would faine boaſt of a known ſucceſsion) hath yet been without a Biſhop longer then the whole raigne of Qu. *Mary*; if we may beleeve *Damaſus* himſelfe, after *Marcellinus*, for 7. years, 6. months, and 25. dayes? And if after the martyrdome of our Orthodoxe Biſhops, revolted, or Popiſh governours held thoſe Sees, they were corrupt in their places, judgement, and practiſe; there was not an utter abolition of their calling, which their repentance reſtored to its firſt vigour. Where I juſtly aver this continuance to have been without the contradiction of any one congregation in the Chriſtian world, you vainly think to choak me with a

ſtory

ſtory from our own darling, *Heylin*, which tels us of the furious violence of the people of Biſcay againſt the Biſhop of Pampelona, reported alſo by the Spaniſh hiſtory: to which you referre us; concealing yet, that which the ſame hiſtory relates, that this was done upon ſome attempts and wrong conceived to be offered them by the Clergy.

A goodly inſtance, and fit for the gall of your inke, and as good a conſequence. The Biſcainers upon a private quarrell are enraged againſt the perſon of their Biſhop, and for his ſake (for the time) againſt his fellowes; therefore ſome Chriſtian congregation denies the ſucceſſe of Epiſcopall Government, from the times of the Apoſtles. Of the like validity and judgement is your inſtance of French, Scotiſh, and Belgick Churches: Who doubts of either their Chriſtianity, or their contradiction to Epiſcopacy? But if you did not wilfully both ſhut your owne eyes, and indeavour to blind the eyes of your Reader, you could not but ſee, that I limit the time untill this

You might as well have told us out of the ſame Author, of the ſtrange conditions that are in uſe amongſt them, which they impoſe upon their King, if ever hee come into their coaſt; of his riding with one leg bare, and their mocking of him with their *Maravedis*.

this preſent age. Good brethren, whiles you object bold falſhood to me, learn to make ſome conſcience of truths. To let paſſe your untrue ſuggeſtions concerning my aſſertion, of one and the ſame forme of Prayer continued from *Moſes* to the Apoſtles, and by the Apoſtles, &c. I cannot but wonder with what face you can reckon it amongſt my untruths, that Epiſcopall Government hath continued in this Iland, ever ſince the firſt plantation of the Goſpel. I challenge you before that awfull Bar, to which you have appealed, name but one yeare ever ſince Chriſtianity had footing in England, (which was under the Britiſh or Roman Government) wherein there were no Biſhops in this Land; If you can name neither yeare nor Author, be aſhamed to ſay this truth hath had any contradiction, or elſe I hope the Readers will be aſhamed of you. What a poore ſhift is it to tell me of the contradiction that Epiſcopacie hath had ſince the Reformation? I can tell the world that your ſelves oppoſe it; what of that? You miſlike the Government, you cannot deny that it hath ſo long continued; ſo as my aſſertion continues inviolable,

ble, that the form of this government hath, without contradiction, continued here ever ſince the firſt plantation of the Goſpell.

The man runs on ſtill, you ſay, *and as thinking to get credit to his untruths by their multiplication, dares boldly ſay, that except all Hiſtories, all Authors, faile them, nothing can be more certaine then this truth*: and here you cry out, *Os durum!* and aggravate the matter enviouſly, by the inſtance of Divine truths, concerning the maine points of our holy Creede: But, good ſirs, doe ye bethinke whom you ſpeake to? Could you ſuppoſe to meete with ſo meane readers, as ſhould not know that no phraſe is more ordinary in our hourely diſcourſe, then this; when we would cõfidently affirme any truth, to ſay, It is ſo true as nothing can be truer? Not to enter into any metaphyſicall diſcourſe concerning the being, or degrees of truth, (wherein ſome that would be wiſe, may perhaps have loſt themſelves) would any man thinke it reaſonable, that upon ſuch an ordinary and familiar aſſertion, he ſhould be called to account for the articles of his Creede, and be urged to compare his truth with Gods? Away with this witleſſe and

malicious intimation: Pardon me readers, that I have ſpent ſo much time and paper, in following theſe triflers ſo cloſe, their uncharitable ſuggeſtions drew me on, Judge ye now whether of us have more juſt cauſe of indignation.

Sect. IIII.

Hitherto they have flouriſhed, now I hope, they will ſtrike; againſt the Libellers importune projects of innovations, I urged that were this Ordinance meerly humane, or Eccleſiaſticall, if there could be no more ſaid for it, but that it is exceeding ancient, of more then 1500. yeares ſtanding, and in this Iland of the ſame age with the Goſpell it ſelfe, this might be a juſt reaſon to make men tender of admitting a change, an argument which I ſeconded with ſo rationall inforcement, as will I doubt not prevaile with all unpartiall judgments: Now my witty Anſwerers tell me this is an *argumentum Galeatum* (and that the reader may know they have ſeene a Father, cite *Hierome*, who gave that title

title to a Prologue, but never to an argument) and as if arguments were Almanacks, tell us, *it was Calculated for the Meridian of Episcopacy, and may indifferently serve for all Religions.* Truly brethren, you have not well taken the height of the Pole, nor observed a just zenith, for could you say so much for the Presbyteriall government, had it continued here so long, I should never yeeld my vote to alter it; an uninterrupted course of so many yeares should settle it still: So as you are plainly deceived, the argument is not calculated for the Meridian of Episcopacy, but for whatsoever government, if so long time have given it peaceable possession, there had neede to be strong reasons of Law, for an ejection; But that it may serve for all Religions, it is but an envious suggestion; unlesse you adde this withall, save where the ground of the change is fully convictive, and irrefragable; in which cause both the mouthes of Jews, and Heathens, and Papists, and your owne may be justly stopped.

As for that overworne observation of *Cyprian*, that our Saviour saies, *I am the way, the truth, and the life*; but doth not say, *I am custome*,

it is no leſſe plauſible then uſefull, but if we regard ſoundneſſe of ratiocination, it is an illuſtration meerly negative: ſo we may ſay, he ſaith not, I am reaſon, I am experience, I am authority; and yet authority, experience, reaſon are worthy to ſway with us, in all matters of queſtion: and withall, He that ſaid, *I am the way*; ſaid, *that the old way was the good way*: and if cuſtome without truth (as that Father ſaid well) be nothing but a gray-haird error; or, as Sir *Francis Bacon* wittily, Antiquity without truth is a Cipher without a figure, yet where cuſtome and antiquity are backed with truth, there they are figures multiplied with many Ciphers.

As for the time wherein their Learned ancients affirme, the Church not to have been governed by Biſhops, but by Presbyters, and for the difference pretended to be betwixt the Primitive Biſhops, and ours, we ſhall meet with it in ſuch due time and place, as ſhall be juſtly occaſioned; What needs this frivolous waſt of unſeaſonable words? wherewith unleſſe theſe men deſired to ſwell up this their windy bulke, why doe they tell us yet againe, of that already anſwered, and ground-

groundleſſe exception; againſt both their owne eyes, and conſcience; where I ſay, that that this government hath continued in this Iland, ever ſince the plantation of the Goſpel without contradiction; when as they cannot name any man in this Nation that ever contradicted Epiſcopacie, till this preſent age, or that ever contradicted this truth, that Epiſcopacy hath ſo long continued in this Iland; which is the only drift of my words; For, alas, could I be ſo ſimple as not to know that this age hath bred oppoſition enough to the preſent government? could I doubt whether theſe very men oppoſe it? Yet, let the boldeſt forehead of them all denie that it hath continued thus long in this our Iland, or that any till this age contradicted it; ſo as that my aſſertion is juſt, their exception falſe, and vaine: As for that ſupplie of acceſſory ſtrength, which I not begge, but raiſe, and evince from the light of nature and rules of juſt policie, for the continuance of thoſe things, which long uſe and many laws have firmly eſtabliſhed, as neceſſary, and beneficiall; it will ſtand long enough, againſt the battery of their Paper-pellets; If ſome ſtatute Laws,

which seemed once necessary, and beneficiall, proving afterwards, in processe of time, noxious and burthensome, have beene justly, and wisely repealed; Let them tell me, whether the fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome, upon any mans abuse, may be subject to alteration, or whether rather their wisedomes would not think fit to determine that the Lawes must stand, and the abuses be removed; such is the cause we have now in hand, and if we shall goe lesse: I speake not against an impossibility, but an easinesse of change, the question being so stated (which their guiltinesse would willingly over-look) that things indifferent, or good, having beene by continuance and generall approbation well rooted in Church or State, may not upon light grounds be pulled up.

Secc. V.

I Justly fetch the pedegree of our holy calling from no lesse then Apostolicall (and in that right, Divine) institution, and prove it from the cleare practise of their immediate succes-

ſucceſſors, and juſtly triumph in that confidence. They tell me of one ſcruple yet remaining, It is well, if there be no more: And what may that be? *That in originall authority of Scripture, Biſhops and Presbyters went originally for the ſame.* Alas, brethren, what needed this to be a ſcruple in your thoughts, or your words, when it is in expreſſe termes granted by us? That there was at firſt a plaine Identity in their denomination, here is one page, and that not without ſome labour of proofs, idly loſt.

It is true, that the Remonſtrant undertakes to ſhew a cleare and received diſtinction of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, (out of the undeniable writings of thoſe holy men, which lived in the times of the Apoſtles, and after them) with an evident ſpecification of their ſeverall duties: And what ſay my Anſwerers to this? Yet, ſay they, *Let us tell him, that we never find in Scripture theſe three Orders, Biſhops, Presbyters, Deacons.* Brethren, ye might have ſpared to tell me that which I had told you before: I ſpeak of the monuments of immediate ſucceſsion to the Apoſtolique times; Ye, of the writings of the Apoſtles

Apoſtles themſelves: How then doe you either anſwer, or oppoſe my aſſertion? Although I muſt alſo tell you, that though in the Apoſtolique Epiſtles there be no nominall diſtinction of the titles, yet there is a reall diſtinction and ſpecification of the duties, as we ſhall ſee in due place.

That ye may ſeem not to ſay nothing, and may make your Readers beleeve you are not quite forſaken of Antiquity, ye call *Hierome*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Theophylact*, *Irenæus*, and *Cyprian*, to the book: And what evidence will they give for you? That the names of Biſhops and Presbyters were not at firſt diſtinguiſhed, but uſed ἀδιαφόρως, in a promiſcuous ſenſe, and that ſome ſucceeding Biſhops of Rome were ſtyled Presbyters; This is all: but that your trifling may appeare to all the world, Name but any one of our Writers, who have hitherto ſtood up in the cauſe of Epiſcopacie, that hath not granted and proclaimed this which you contend for: Although withall, let me tell you, that you could not have brought a ſtronger argument againſt your ſelves: for hence the world ſhall ſee how little force can be drawne from the name to the thing, ſince the

the mentioned *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Teleſphorus*, Biſhops of Rome, are ſo famouſly knowne to have beene in an height of elevation above Presbyters; And ſince *Cyprian*, who is ſtyled by his Presbyters, *Frater*, is never found to ſtyle his Presbyters, Biſhops; And being an holy Biſhop himſelfe, in many Epiſtles, ſtifly maintaines the eminence of his ſuperiority; And is ſome-whiles honored with the title of *Beatiſſimus Papa Cyprianus*, which I ſuppoſe was never given to a meere Presbyter: But what doe I here follow them who confeſſe themſelves out of the way? At laſt acknowledging, that their adverſaries confeſſe, that which they would needs ſpend time to prove; let the names paſſe; All the queſtion is of the diſtinction of their offices, which they will follow as tediouſly as looſly.

And firſt they would faine know what we make the diſtinct office of a Biſhop, wherein they fall ſomewhat unhappily, upon the very words of that branded *Ærius*; *Is it*, ſay they, *to edifie the Church by Word & Sacraments? Is it to ordaine others to that worke? Is it to rule, to governe by admonition, and by other cenſures? any, or all of theſe belong unto the Presbytery.*

Compare now the words of *Ærius*, as they are related by *Epiphanius*, whom that Father brings in ſpeaking thus, concerning Epiſcopacy and Presbytery, *There is one order of both, one honor, one dignity; the Biſhop impoſeth hands, ſo doth the Presbyter; the Biſhop doth adminiſter Gods worſhip or ſervice, ſo doth the Presbyter; the Biſhop ſitteth on the throne, ſo doth alſo the Presbyter*: See reader and acknowledge the very phraſes of that man, whom holy antiquity cenſured even in this point both for a franticke man, and an hereticke; Brethren, God ſpeede you well with your queſtion; As for the firſt, which is edifying the Church by Word, and Sacraments, we make no difference, your diſtance may; we both hold it our worke and make it ſo; and if any one have beene ſlacke herein, the fault is perſonall, we neither defend, nor excuſe it. The maine quarrell you grant to be in the ſecond, which is the power of Ordination, impropriated (as you enviouſly and untruly ſpeake) to our ſelves: This you ſay was in former times in the hands of the Presbyters, and undertake to prove it from 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift which was given thee by Propheſie, and by laying on*

ἐμβεβλήθεις ἀφ' διανοίαν. Epiph.

the

the hands of Presbytery, a place that hath received answer μυθομωεδέστατος; which I wonder ye can so presse, when *Calvin* himselfe, (as you well know) in his learned Institutions, even in his last, and ripest judgement, construes it quite otherwise; taking it of the office, and not of the men; (however elsewhere otherwise) wherein also he followes the judgement of *Ierome*, *Primasius*, *Anselme*, *Haymo*, *Liranus*, *Erasmus*, and others, as our learned Bishop *Downham* hath largely shewed.

To countenance this sense of yours, you tell us, *you finde* πρεσβυτέριον, *so taken in Scripture*; and cite *Luc.*22.66. and *Act.*22.5. Wherein you doe meerly delude the reader; you find indeed the Elders of the people so called, but the Elders of the Church never; to make good your own construction therefore, you must maintaine that *Lay-men did and must lay on hands in Ordination*, which *Calvin* himselfe utterly abominates.

Neither need we to give any other satisfaction to the point, then that which we have from S. *Paul* himselfe, 1 *Tim.*4.6. *Stirre up the gift of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands*; mine, not others. I aske then, Was *Timothy* ordained more then once? once sure-

ly S. *Pauls* hands were laid upon him, when therefore the Presbyters? *Yes*, you say, *this was a joint act of both, else the Harmony of Scripture is not maintained*; Pardon me brethren if I thinke Mr. *Calvin* was more skilled in the harmony of Scripture then our selves, yet in his eare it sounded well, that πρεσβυτέριον, should be the Office to which *Timothy* was ordained by *Paul*, and not a company of men that ordained him; Yet give me leave to marvell how you can have the boldnesse to say, *This power is communicated to Presbyters*, when you know that not onely other Antiquity, but even *Hierome* himselfe and that Councell of *Aquisgrane* which you cite, doe still except Ordination, which yet we doe not so appropriate, as to lay our hands alone upon the head of any Presbyter.

The third part of our Office consists in Ruling; *which though our Bishops* (you say) *assumed to themselves, you will discover to have bin committed to, and exercised by Presbyteriall hands*. For evidence whereof you cite *Heb.* 13.17. *Obey them that have the Rule over you, for they watch for your souls*. Brethren, what an injurious imputation is this? do we not give you the title of Rectores

res Eccleſiarum? doe we not in your Inſtitution commit to you *regimen animarum*? Why will ye therefore beare your readers in hand, that we herein rob you of your right? It is true, that here is a juſt diſtinction to be made, betwixt the government of ſoules, in ſeverall Congregations, and the government of the Church, conſiſting of many Congregations; that taske is yours, this is the Biſhops, wherein their rule yet, is not Lordly, but brotherly, or paternall; your argument reacheth not home to this, and yet you ſtraine that place of 1 *Theſ.* 5.12. beyond the due bredth, whiles you tenter it out to either a paritie, or communitie of cenſure.

Injoy now what you have ſo victoriouſly purchaſed, but give me leave to ſumme up my reckonings alſo, Since then (how ever the name was at firſt promiſcuouſly uſed, yet) the Office of Biſhops, and Presbyters differed, even by Apoſtolike inſtitution: and the Acts pertaining thereto, of Ordination, and power of ordinary government and cenſures, were in that very firſt age of the Church mainifeſtly differenced; therefore Biſhops and Presbyters were not one.

Sect. VI.

THE practise of the Apostles is so farre from contradicting their rules, (which your brotherly charity would fasten upon my assertion) as that it is a most cleare proofe, and illustration of it; Their practise is irrefragable in the charge, which they gave to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, as we shall prove in due place: Now if to this we shall adde the unquestionable glosse of the more cleare practise of their immediate successors, I know not what more light can be desired for the manifestation of this truth. Whereto ye boldly answer, *If this glosse corrupt not the text, we shall admit it*; implying therein, too presumptuously, that the universall practise of the whole Primitive Church succeeding the Apostles, may prove a Burdeaux-glosse to marre the Text.

Brethren, goe you your owne way, let me erre with such guides: But ye are disposed to be liberall; somewhat ye will grant us, besides that which we grant you. It is agreed, that

that the name of Biſhops and Presbyters were at firſt promiſcuouſly uſed; It is yeelded by you, *That in proceſſe of time, ſome one was honoured with the name of Biſhop, and the reſt were called Presbyters.* But what, I beſeech you, was this *proceſſe of time?* Here lies your either error, or fraud: We doe juſtly and confidently defend, that this time had no proceſſe at all; it was in the τῶν of the living Apoſtles, which we ſhall plainly make good in the ſequell. It is alſo yeelded, that this was not [*nomen inane,*] but ſeconded with ſome kind of imparity. What then is the difference? *All the queſtion,* you ſay, *is of divine right, and Apoſtolicall inſtitution of this imparity.* Let me beſeech the Reader to conſider ſeriouſly of the ſtate of this difference, in the miſtaking whereof I have, not a little, unjuſtly ſuffered; And to remember how I have expreſſed it in my Remonſtrance, fetching the pedegree of Epiſcopacie from Apoſtolicall (and therefore, in that right, Divine) inſtitution: And interpreting my ſelf not to underſtand by [*divine right*] any expreſſe Law of God requiring it, upon the abſolute neceſsity of the being of a Church, but an inſtitution of Apoſtles, inſpired

inſpired by the holy Ghoſt, warranting it where it is, and requiring it where it may be had. Now whether it may be thus Apoſtolicall, or a meerly humane and Eccleſiaſticall invention, is the queſtion in hand.

On your part, you ſay, *ſtand Ierome, and Ambroſe*. Two ſtiffe champions indeed. And ſurely I muſt needs confeſſe, this is the onely countenance of your cauſe, which yet hath been blanked more then once. *Ierome tels us*, you ſay, *right down in Tit.* 1. *Idē eſt ergo Presbyter*, &c. Out of whoſe teſtimony you in ſumme collect, That *A Presbyter and a Biſhop were originally one*: That *The imparity was grounded upon Eccleſiaſticall cuſtome*: That *Before this priority, the Church was governed by the common Councel of Presbyters*, and that *Biſhops ought ſtill ſo to govern*: And laſtly, that *The occaſion of this imparity, was the diviſion, which through the Devils inſtinct fell among Chriſtians*. You look now that I ſhould tell you that the Book is of uncertaine credit, or that *Hierome* was a Presbyter, and not without ſome touch of envie to that higher dignity he miſſed; or that wiſer men then your ſelves have cenſured him in this point, for *Ærianiſme*: I plead none of theſe, but whiles you

you expect that I ſhould anſwer to *Ierome*, I ſhall ſet *Ierome* to anſwer for himſelfe. For the firſt, I cannot but put you in mind, that the ſame Father citing the words of the Biſhop of Jeruſalem, That there is no difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter, paſſeth a *Satis imperitè* upon it: but let it be ſo.

At firſt, he ſayes, *Biſhops and Presbyters had but one title.* So ſay we too; But when began the diſtinction? Ye need not learne it of *Saravia*, he himſelfe tels you, *When diviſions began:* And when that? *When they began to ſay, I am Pauls, I am Apollo's, I am Cephas*; which was (I think) well and high in the Apoſtles time: But this you would cleanly put of, as ſpoken by *Ierome* in the Apoſtles phraſe, not of the time of the Apoſtle: This is but a generall intimation of contentions ariſen (though later) in the Church. Excuſe me Brethren, this ſhift will not ſerve your turne: Then, belike, there ſhould have been no diſtinct Biſhops till after-ages, upon this ground, that till then there were no diviſions: Or if ſo, why ſhould the remedie be ſo late after the diſeaſe? Or how comes he elſewhere to name Biſhops made by the Apoſtles, and to confeſſe that

before his time there had been many ſucceſſions? Beſides, he inſtanceth in the peculiar miſ-challenging of Baptiſme, which onely S. *Paul* ſpecifieth in his own time: And *Clemens* ſeconds him in his Epiſtle to the Corinthians, in taxing the continuance of thoſe diſtractions; ſo as by *Ierom*s own confeſsion, Epiſcopacie was ordained early within the Apoſtles times.

But then, ſay you, *It was not of Apoſtolicall intention, but of Diabolicall occaſion*: Weakly and abſurdly; As if the occaſion might not be deviliſh, and the inſtitution divine: As if the beſt Laws did not riſe from the worſt manners. Were not the quarrels betwixt the Grecians and Hebrews for the maintenance of their widows, an evill occurrence? yet from the occaſion thereof was raiſed the Ordination of Deacons in the Church.

Yea but *Ierome* ſaith, *This was rather by the cuſtome of the Church, then by the truth of the Lords diſpoſition.* True, it was by the cuſtome of the Church, but that Church was Apoſtolicall, not by the Lords diſpoſition immediately: for Chriſt gave no expreſſe rule for it, but mediately it was from Chriſt, as from his inſpired

red Apoſtles. Let *Ierome* himſelfe interpret himſelfe, who tels us expreſly in his Epiſtle to *Euagrius*, this ſuperiority of Biſhops above Presbyters, is by Apoſtolicall tradition; which is as much as we affirme. And whiles he ſaith, (*toto orbe decretum eſt*) that in the time of thoſe firſt diviſions, it was decreed all the world over, that Biſhops ſhould be ſet up; I would faine know, by what power (beſides Apoſtolicall) ſuch a Decree could be ſo ſoon and ſo univerſally enacted. But *Ierome* ſaith, *The Presbyters governed the Church by their common Counſell*: So they did doubtleſſe altogether, till Epiſcopacie was ſetled; who dares deny it? Yea, but he ſaith, *They ought to doe ſtill*: So ſay we alſo, and ſo in ſome caſes we do: Church-government is Ariſtocraticall. Neither is any Biſhop ſo abſolute, as not to be ſubject to the judgement of a Synode: Yea in many matters it is determined by our Laws, that hee muſt take the adviſe and aſſiſtance of his Eccleſiaſticall Presbyterie.

So then, S. *Ierome* is in his judgement no back friend of ours, but in his Hiſtory he is our Patron. With what forehead can they perſwade their Reader, the Originall of Epi-

ſcopacie was not in *Ieroms* opinion ſo early, when they cannot but confeſſe that the ſame Father hath, in flat termes, told us, that *Iames* was Biſhop of Jeruſalem, *Timothy* of Epheſus, *Titus* of Crete, that ever ſince the time of *Mark* the Euangeliſt, (who died five or ſixe yeares before *Peter* and *Paul*, and almoſt forty years before S. *Iohn*) at Alexandria, (till the dayes of *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius*) the Presbyters have alwayes choſen one to be their Biſhop.

As for thoſe poore negative arguments which follow, palpably begging the queſtion, they are ſcarce worthie of a paſſe; were it not, that by them they goe about to confute their own Author, affirming, That upon occaſion of diviſions, Epiſcopacie was conſtituted: but he ſtands ſo cloſe to his owne grounds, as that (contrary to their miſ-allegation of Dr *Whitakers*) he plainly tels them, Epiſcopacie is ſo proper a remedy for this evill, that unleſſe the Biſhop have a peerleſſe power, there will be as many Schiſmes as Prieſts; the wofull experience whereof we finde in the miſerable varieties of Separatiſme, at this day. Goe on, Brethren, ſince you

you are ſo reſolved, to ſtrike that friend, whom you bring in to ſpeak for you; teach your advocate S. *Ierome*, how unlikely it is, that the Apoſtles ſhould give way (as he profeſſes they did) to ſuch a remedie, as might prove both ineffectuall, and dangerous; and that their holineſſe ſhould make a ſtirrup for Antichriſt.

We lookt for *Ambroſe* to come in next; and, behold, you bring in a foiſted Commenter; a man by the convictions of *Whitakers*, *Spalatenſis*, *Cocus*, *Rinetus*, *Bellarmine*, *Poſſevine*, *Maldonate*, (as hath beene elſewhere ſhewed) of not a ſuſpected onely, but a crackt credit: If it mattered much, what he ſaid, I could out of his teſtimonie picke more advantage then you prejudice to my cauſe: But, if you will heare the true *Ambroſe* ſpeake; he tells you; There is one thing which God requireth of a Biſhop, another of a Presbyter, another of a Deacon; As for the perſons who brought in this imparitie, you tell us out of the ſame Authors, *The Presbyters themſelves brought it in? Witneſſe* Ierome *ad* Euagrium. *The Presbyters of* Alexandria *did call him their Biſhop, whom they had choſen from among themſelves, and placed in an*

Ambr. de dignit Sacerd. c. 3.

higher degree: But, Brethren, what meanes this faithlesse and halved citation? Had you said all, the place would have answered for it selfe; the words are, *Nam & Alexandriæ à Marco Evangelista, &c.* For at *Alexandria* ever since *Marke* the Evangelist untill the times of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, Bishops, the Presbyters have alwayes called one (chosen out of themselves, and placed in an higher degree) Bishop, as if an army should chose their generall. Why did you avoid the name of *Mark* the Evangelist, but that your harts told you, that he dying many yeares within the time of the Apostles, this election, and appellation, and distinction of degrees of Bishops and Presbyters, must needs have beene in the life time of the Apostles; and not without their knowledge and approbation. The Presbyters then chose their Bishops: who doubts it? But upon whose order, and Institution save that which S. *Paul* to the Superintendents met at *Miletus*, Act. 20. *Spiritus sanctus vos constituit Episcopos?* I marvell Brethren, with what face you can make *Ierome* say that the Presbyters

Nam & Alexandriæ à Marco Evangelista usq; ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electũ, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant, quemodo si exercitus Imperatorem faciat, &c:

The holy Ghost made you Bishops, or Over-seers.

Presbyters themselves were the authors of this imparitie, when as himselfe hath plainly ascribed this to Gods owne worke; when reading that *Esay.* 60.17. *I will make thy Officers peace,* (according to the *Septuagint*) δώσω τὰς ἀρχοντάς σου, &c. *I will give thy Princes in peace, and thy Bishops in righteousnesse,* he applies this to the governours of the Evangelicall Church: and the blessed Martyr and Bishop S. *Cyprian,* to the same purpose; The Deacons, (saith he) must remember that the Lord himselfe chose Apostles, that is, Bishops, but Deacons were chosen by the Apostles themselves.

And when ye cannot but know, that the Apostles themselves were the immediate actors in this businesse, if at least ye will beleeve the Histories, and Fathers of the Church; *Irenæus* tells you plainly, that the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul,* delivered the Episcopacie of that Church to *Linus*: and, that *Polycarpus* was by the Apostles made Bishop, in *Asia,* of the Church of *Smyrna*: and *Tertullian* particularly, that *Polycarpus* was there placed by S. *Iohn.*

And S. *Chrysostome* clearly saies, that *Ignatius* was

τὸν ἐπιφανέντα ἐκείνοις, καὶ παντα χοῦ συγγενόμενον.

was not onely trained up with the Apoſtles, but that he received his Biſhopricke from them; and emphatically, that the hands of the bleſſed Apoſtles touched his holy head.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ ἁγίων ἐκείνων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐπεχειρίσθη καὶ ἀπὸ μακαρίων Ἀποστόλων χεῖρες τὰς ἱερὰς ἐκείνης ἥψαντο κεφαλῆς. *Chryſoſt. Tom. 5. Edition. Savil. p. 499.*

And laſtly, the true *Ambroſe*, (to the ſhameing of that Counterfeit, whom you bring forth under that name) tells you, that *Paul* ſaw *Iames* at *Ieruſalem*, becauſe he was made Biſhop of that place, by the Apoſtles: your ſlip may talke of a Councell, wherein this was done: but this is as falſe, as himſelfe: It is well knowne there never was any ſuch Councell in the Chriſtian world: ſince, the firſt generall Synod was the *Nicene*. And *Ieroms* [*toto orbe Decretum*] as we have ſhewed, could import no other, then an Apoſtolicall act: As for S. *Auguſtine*, Is it not a juſt wonder, Reader, that theſe men dare cite him for their opinion, (upon occaſion of a modeſt word concerning the honorable title of Epiſcopacy) when as they cannot but know, and grant, that he hath blazoned *Arius* for an hereticke, meerely for holding the ſame Tenet which they defend?

Aug. Ep. 19.

Laſtly, if *Gregory Nazianzen* in a patheticke manner

manner have wished the abolition of Episcopacie, (as he never did) what more dislike had he shown to it, then he did to Synods, when he said (μηδεμίας συνόδου ἔχεσθαι, &c.) that he never knew good come of them? But reader, it will be worth the while, to inquire into the fidelity of those mens allegations; Doe but consult the place of *Nazianzen*, & thou shalt find that he speaks not particularly of Episcopacie, but of all πρωτεῖα, or precedencie, and of all quarrelsome changes of place, and all tyrannicall carriage of one man towards another, wishing that there were no standing upon points of precedency, but every man might be respected according to his vertue: and adding at last (*Nunc autem dextrum hoc, et sinistrum, et medium latus*, &c.) But now (saith he) the right hand, and the left, and the middle place, and the higher and lower degree, and going before, and going cheeke by jole, what a world of troubles have they brought upon us? Thus he. See then, Reader, what a testimony, here is for the utter abolition of Episcopacy, from a man who was so interessed in the calling, that he was wont to be styled by his adversaries Τριεπίσκοπος, The Bishop of three

Greg. Naz. Orat. 28. ὄφελον γὰρ, &c. μηδὲ, &c.

Sees: By this judge, reader, of the reſt. So then, after all the clamours, and colourable pretences of theſe men, this imparity and juriſdiction was conveyed from the Apoſtles hands, and deduced in an uninterrupted Line, through all following ages to this preſent day.

How can this be (ſay they) *unleſſe our Biſhops will draw the Line of their pedegree, through the lines of Antichriſt, and joyne iſſue, and mingle blood with Rome?* For ſhame, Brethren, eate this word; What? are there no Biſhops but at Rome? Is the whole Church all the world over Antichriſtian, even thoſe, which are no leſſe angry at Rome then your ſelves? Hath not Epiſcopall imparitie continued in them, all this while? Is there no diſtinction to be had betwixt the calling, and the abuſe? If the Antichriſtian Church have had Biſhops, ſo it hath had Churches, Scriptures, Baptiſme, Learning, Creeds; Becauſe we have all theſe with them, will ye ſay we deduce them from the loines of Antichriſt? Away with this impotent ſpight, and uncharitableneſſe, and learne to be more modeſt & true in your aſſertions, and leſſe confident in your appeals.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

LEt me balke your idle words, the queſtion is of the difference betwixt our preſent Biſhops, and the ancient, this you will ſpread forth, in three particulars; The firſt is the manner of Election, to theſe places of eminence; *which was, of old, ordered, by the privity, conſent, and approbation of the people*, which you eagerly ſeeke to prove out of *Cyprian*: neither can it be denied that he is full, and punctuall in this point: Holy *Athanaſius* ſeconds it; And the old rule was: *Electio clericorum, conſenſus Principis, petitio plebis*; that a Biſhop came in by the ſuite of the people, the Election of the Clergy, the conſent of the Prince. Ye might well have in this caſe ſpared the fetching in of the good Emperour *Conſtantine*: doubtleſſe this was the manner of old; what variations followed afterward in theſe proceedings, our learned Dr. *Field* hath well ſhowed; but ſure, this intereſt of the people continued ſo long, even in the Roman Church, that *Platina* can tell us, *Gregory* the ſeventh was elected by Cardinalls, Clerkes

Platina in vita Greg. 7.

Clerkes, Acoluthites, Subdeacons, Prieſts, Abbots, Biſhops, Clergie, and Laitie: The inconveniences that were found in thoſe tumultuarie elections, and the ſeditious iſſue of them (which *Nazianzen* and *Euſebius* have laid before us in ſome particulars) were, I ſuppoſe, the cauſe why they were (in a ſort) laid downe; But an imitation of this practiſe, we have ſtill continuing in our Church; wherein upon the vacancy of every See, there is a *Conge-d'eſlire* (that is, a leave to elect) ſent down from the King, to the Preſbyters (*viz.* the Deane and Chapter of that Church) for an enſuing Election of their Biſhop; and, if this were yet more free, we ſhould not like it the leſſe: But, in the meane time, Brethren, how are you quite beſide the Cuſhion? Where the objection was, *That the Apoſtles, Biſhops and ours were two, in reſpect of managing their function*; And my defence is, that our Biſhops challenge not any other Spirituall power, then the Apoſtles delegated to *Timothy* and *Titus*, you now tell us, *of the different manner of our Elections*; What is this *ad Rhombum*? we ſpeake of their actions, and exerciſe of power, you talke of others actions

to

to them; Were it ſo pleaſing to his Majeſtie, and the State, to decree it, we ſhould be well content to ſubmit to this ancient forme of Election; the forbearance whereof, is neither our fault, nor our prejudice: ſo as you might well have beſtowed this breath to a better purpoſe, and rather conclude, that notwithſtanding this forme of different choice, our Biſhops and thoſe of former times are not two.

SECT. VIII.

WEE follow you into the execution of our Epiſcopall Office, wherein you will ſhow ours, and the Apoſtles to be two; ſo clearely, that he who will not wilfully ſhut his eyes may ſee a Latitude of differences, and that in three points: The firſt, in ſole juriſdiction, which you ſay, *was a ſtranger, yea a monſter to former times,* and will make it good by the power of (that, which in all wiſe writers was wont to be contra-diſtinguiſhed) Ordination.

For this maine point, let my Anſwerers

know, that the Ordination is the Biſhops, but the *ſole* (in their ſenſe) is their owne: neither did our Biſhops ever challenge it, as theirs alone, without the Presbyters, but as principally theirs, with them: ſo, as if the power be in the Biſhop, the aſſiſtance is from them, the practiſe in both: ſo is it in the Biſhops, that ordinarily and regularly it may not be done without them, and yet ordinately, it may not be done without them by the Biſhop: which hath bin ſo conſtantly, and carefully ever obſerved, that I challenge them to ſhow any one inſtance in the Church of England to the contrary; Say Brethren, I beſeech you, after all this noyſe, what Biſhop ever tooke upon him to ordaine a Presbyter alone, or without the concurrent impoſition of many hands?

Cypr. Ep. 33. They, no leſſe then *Cyprian*, can ſay, *Ego & collegæ*; Although I muſt tell you this was in the caſe of *Aurelius*, made a Lector; And in that other teſtimony, which you cite out of his Epiſtle 58. he ſpeakes onely of the fraternities conſent, and approbation, not of their concurrence in their act; this is ſmall game with you.

Neither is it leſſe the order of the Church of England

England then of the Councell of Carthage, *cum ordinatur Presbyter*, &c. When a Presbyter is ordained, the Bishop blessing him, and holding his hand upon his head, all the Presbyters that are present, shall likewise lay their hands upon his head, with the hands of the Bishop: With what conscience can ye alledge this, as to choake us in our contrary practise, whe you know this is perpetually, and unfailably done by us? But now, that the readers may see how you shuffle, shew us but one instance of a Presbyters regular and practised ordaining, without a Bishop, and carry the cause, else you doe but abuse the reader with an ostentation of proving what was never denied.

But here, by the way, Brethren, you must give me leave to pull you by the sleeve, and to tell you of two or three foule scapes, which will try me whether you can blush. First, that you abuse *Firmilianus* in casting upon him an opinion of Presbyters ordaining, which he never held. He, in his Epistle to *Stephen* Bishop of Rome, speaking of the true Church in opposition to heresies, describes it thus, (*Ubi præsident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum* *Firmil. Cyprian. Epist 75.*

manam imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem: under this name expressing those Bishops, who presiding in the Church, possesse the power of Baptizing, Confirming, Ordaining; you injuriously Wire-draw him to Presbyters, and foist in [*Seniores et præpositos*] which are farre from the clause and matter. Be convinced with the more cleare words of the same Epistle, *Apostolis, et Episcopis, qui illis vicariâ Ordinatione successerunt.*

Secondly, that you bewray grosse ignorance in translating *Ambroses* [*Presbyteri consignant*] by *Presbyters ordaining*. Who, that ever knew what belonged to antiquity, would have beene guilty of such a solecisme: when every novice knowes, that *consigning* signifies *confirmation*, and not *ordaining*?

Thirdly, you discover not too much skill in not distinguishing of the *Chorepiscopi*: some whereof had both the nature and power of Episcopacy to all purposes, and therefore might well by the Bishops licence in his owne charge impose hands, others not. And lesse fidelitie, in citing the Councell of *Antioch*, *can.* 10. and the 13. of the Councell of *Ancyra*, if it were not out of our way, to fetch them into triall. Lastly,

Laſtly, I cannot but tell you that you have meerly caſt away all this labour, and fought with your owne ſhadow; for, how ever it were not hard to prove, that in the firſt times of the Church it was appropriated to the Biſhop, to Ordaine, (which you cannot but cõfeſſe out of *Ierome*, and *Chryſoſtom*) yet, ſince we ſpeaking of our owne time and Church, doe both profeſſe and practiſe an aſſociation of Presbyters with us, in the act of Ordination, whom have you all this while oppoſed? It is enough that you have ſeemed to ſay ſomthing, and have ſhowne ſome little reading, to no purpoſe.

SECT. IX.

YEt ſtill, you will needs beat the ayre very furiouſly, and fight pitifully with your ſelves; Alas, brethren, why will ye take ſo much paines to goe wilfully out of your way, and to miſ-lead the reader with you? Who ever challenged (in that ſenſe which you faine to your ſelves) a ſole Juriſdiction? Why will you with ſome ſhow of learning

confute that, which you yeeld us to confesse? we confesse this [*sole*] cryed downe by store of Antiquity; we doe willingly grant that Presbyters have, and ought to have, and exercise a jurisdiction within their owne charge, *in foro conscientiæ*; we grant that in all the great affayres of the Church, the Presbyters, whether in Synodes, or otherwise, ought to be consulted with; we grant that the Bishops had of old their Ecclesiasticall Councell of Presbyters, with whose advise they were wont to manage the greatest matters, and we still have so, for to that purpose serve the Deanes and Chapters; and the Lawes of our Church frequently make that use of them; we grant, that Presbyters have their votes in provinciall Synods: But we justly say that the superiority of jurisdiction is so in the Bishop, as that Presbyters neither did, nor may exercise it without him; and that the exercise of externall jurisdiction is derived, from, by, under him to those which execute it within his Dioces. Thus, it is to *Timothy* that S. *Paul* gives the charge concerning the rebuke of an Elder, or not receiving an accusation against him; it is to *Titus* that S. *Paul*

To this purpose is that which you cite out of *Clemens Alex. Strom. l. 5.*

Alluded to in that usuall allegation of *Ambrose.*

leaves

leaves the (ἐπιδιόρθωσιν) correction of his Cretians; Thus, the Canons of the Apostles; Ἄνευ γνώμης, &c. Thus the blessed Martyr *Ignatius* in his undoubted Epistle to those of *Smyrna*, Μηδὲν χωρὶς, &c. Let no man doe any thing, in matters belonging to the Church, without the Bishop. Thus the Councell of *Antioch* orders, that whatsoever belongs to the Church, is to be governed, managed, and disposed, by the judgement and authority of the Bishop, who hath τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν, the power of those things which belong to the Church.

Μηδὲν χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Concil. Antioch. c. 24. 25.

It were easie to surfet the readers eyes, with the cleare testimonies of Fathers, and Councells, to this purpose. Our learned Bishop *Downam* hath given a world of instances of the severall acts of jurisdiction, appropriated to Bishops by antiquity, exercised upon both Laicks, and Clergy: to him I remit my reader; So as, you may easily set antiquity together by the eares, in this point, if you please; but surely, the advantage will be so farre on our side, that if you have not ten for one against you, I will yeeld my cause.

B. Down. def. l. 3. ch. 5.

There is great difference of times, and in them of fashions: In those persecuted times, when the Church was backed with no Christian Magistrate, it was no boot to bid the guides of the Church to combine their Councels, and to give strength to their mutuall actions: when a generall peace once blessed them, and they had the concurrence both of soveraigne and subordinate authority with them, they began so much to remit of this care of conjoyning their forces, as they supposed to find lesse need of it. From hence grew a devolution of all lesse weighty affairs to the weilding of single hands. For my part, I perswade my selfe, that the more frequent communicating of all the important businesse of the Church, whether censures or determinations, with those grave assistents, which in the eye of the Law are designed to this purpose, were a thing not onely unprejudiciall to the honour of our function, but very behovefull to the happy administration of the Church.

In the mean while, see brethren, how you have with *Simon* fished all night, and caught nothing. My word was, that ours were the same

ſame with the Apoſtles Biſhops, in this, that they challenge no other ſpirituall power then was by Apoſtolique authority delegated to *Timothy* and *Titus*: You run out upon the following times of the Church, and have with ſome waſt quotations laboured to prove, that *In after ages, Biſhops called in Presbyters to the aſſiſtance of their juriſdiction*, which is as much to me, as *Baculus ſtat in angulo.*

SECT. X.

YOur next Section runs yet wilder: I ſpeak of the no-difference of our Biſhops from the firſt, in the challenge of any ſpirituall power to themſelves, other then delegated to *Timothy* and *Titus*; You tell mee of delegating their power to others. What is this to the nature of the calling? Doth any man claime this as eſſentiall to his Epiſcopacie? Doth any man ſtand upon it, as a piece of his ſpirituall power? If this be granted to be an accidentall error of ſome particular man, (for it cannot be faſtned upon all) what difference doth it make in the ſubſtance of

the function? As if some monster suddenly presented it selfe to you, you aske, *Was ever such a thing heard of in the best primitive times? that men which never received imposition of hands, should not only be received into assistance, but be wholly intrusted with the power of spirituall jurisdiction?* Let me ask you again, Was ever such a thing heard of, either in the Primitive, or following times, that Lay-men should be so far admitted to the managing of spirituall jurisdiction, as to lay their hands upon their Ministers in their Ordination? Yet this is both done and challenged by too many of your good friends. Why do you object that to us, wherewith the Presbyterian part may be more justly choaked? But herein, Brethren, you do foulely over-reach, in that you charge our Bishops, as in a generality, with wholly intrusting the power of spirituall jurisdiction to their Chancellors, and Commissaries: The assistance of those which are learned in the Law, wee gladly use, neither can well want in the necessary occasions of our judicature; but that wee doe either wilfully or negligently devest our selves absolutely of that power, and wholly put it in-

Howsoever it is now in some Reformed Churches laid downe.

to

to Laick hands, it is a meere ſclander.

For want of better proofs of the illegality of this courſe, you bring a negative authority from *Cyprian*, telling us, what that holy Martyr did not, *That he did not ſend Complainants to his Chancellour or Commiſſarie*: It is very like he did not, nor yet to the Bench of a Lay Preſbyterie: But if he did not commit the hearing of his Cauſes to a Lay-man, we find that ſome others did: *Socrates* can tell you of *Silvanus* the good Biſhop of Troas, (ὁ τῶν Τρῳάδων ἐπίσκοπος) perceiving that ſome of his Clergie did corruptly make gaine of Cauſes, would no more appoint any of his Clergie (ὁδένα τῶν κλήρου) to be a Judge, but made choiſe of ſome faithfull man of the Laity to whom he committed that audience, and was much honoured for it. *Socrat. l. 7. c. 37.*

What Biſhop *Downam* yeelds concerning the Ordinaries, Vicars, and Chancellors of former times, (till *Ambroſe's* daies) that they were onely Clergie-men, you reject with ſcorne, and challenge any man *to produce the names of any Clergie-man that was Vicar to Ambroſe, or Chancellour to Auguſtine, &c.* What a poore brave is this? I challenge you to produce

duce the name of any Secretary, or Actuary that *Ambroſe*, or *Auſtin* had: becauſe you cannot, ſhall I conclude they had none ſuch? That inſtance of *Sylvanus*, not long after *Ambroſe*, is evidence enough: But the antiquity of Chancellors, which were the ſame with *Eccleſiecdici*, or *Epiſcoporum ecdici*, is proveable enough, (if it were for this place) and their neceſſary uſe, beyond the power of your confutation; But I had rather refer my reader to S. *Thomas Ridley*, and others that have laboured in that argument, and appeale to all mens judgement how foundly you have (upon this ground) proved that our Biſhops and the former were two.

SECT. XI.

HOw juſtly may I ſay, Readers, of theſe men as the King of *Iſrael* ſaid of the King of *Syria*: *See I beſeech you, how they ſeeke a quarrell againſt me*? My juſt defence was, that our Biſhops are the ſame in ſubſtance, and effect, with thoſe which were ordained by the Apoſtles: they come now, and tell me, of

2 King. 5. 7.

an

an oath *ex officio*, uſed in the high Commiſſion, and in our Conſiſtories; as if every particular manner of proceeding in our Courts, and judicatures muſt either be patterned by the Apoſtolike, or elſe they are utterly unjuſtifiable; Why doe they not as well challenge us, that we give men the book to touch, and kiſſe, in taking an oath? Why doe they not aske, how we can prove that thoſe Apoſtolicall Biſhops had Notaries, Regiſters, Advocates, Conſiſtories? What frivolous and deluſory exceptions are theſe, to all wiſe men; and how ſtrangely ſavoring of a weak judgment, and ſtrong malice? As for your cavill at the oath *ex officio*, ſince you will needs draw it in by head and ſhoulders; how little ſo ever it concernes us, I returne you this anſwer: That, if any of our profeſſion have in the preſſing of it exceeded the lawful bounds, I excuſe him not, I defend him not; let him beare away his owne load; but *in theſi*, ſurely there is more to be ſaid for it, then you will ſeeme to take notice of. You aske *for any precedent of it, in good antiquity*: I give a precedent as ancient as *Moſes*, *Exod.* 22.10, 11. and that other oath and reall imprecation, in the cauſe of

jelouſie, *Num.*5.19. But perhaps it will fit you better, that I inſtance in Mr. *Calvins* caſe, who together with the Conſiſtory of Elders, appointed the ſaid oath to be given to *Camperell* a Miniſter of Geneva, and to the other parties accuſed of an offenſive dancing in the houſe of widow *Balthaſar*; in which corporall oath three interrogatories being put to the deponents, two of them are ſaid to be concerning their purpoſes and intentions. If yet you call for other precedents, I call your eyes home, and will you to looke into our Courts of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, Star-chamber, wherin the defendant is ordinarily put to anſwer the Bill, and Interrogatories, upon oath. As for that old Maxime of *Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum*, you may (if it pleaſe you) object it as well to *Moſes*, to *Calvin*, to our Courts; It is eaſily thus ſatisfied; that no man is bound at the ſuite of a party, to anſwer criminous Articles, or ſuch, as are *propinqui actus*, (as Lawyers interpret it;) But as *Petrus de Ferrariis* well determins it, *Proditus per famã, tenetur ſeipſum oſtendere, & purgare*; when a fame accuſes him, he may cleare himſelfe by an oath; It is to be preſuppoſed, that

*Calvin Epiſt. fo.*421.

that a man is brought into queſtion by ſome of thoſe Lawfull meanes, which open a way to a further inquiry; and then (as *Aquinas* well) if there be a *Semi-plena probatio*, or a ſtrong fame, or evident tokens, an oath is ſeaſonably impoſed: But ſure, the intention of the oath is quite miſtaken, for it is meant to acquite and juſtifie, not to accuſe; neither is any man preſſed to anſwer further, then he is bound in Law: neither are the Compulſions ſimple and abſolute, but onely Cauſative, as the learned Apologiſt hath fully declared.

Aquin. Quodlib. l. 6. q. 8.

If then a *Diocleſian*, or *Maximilian* (as you call him) ſhall enact, that the adverſe party ſhall not be required to exhibite ſuch evidences as ſhould create troubles to themſelves, it is no other then is every where practiſed in all Courts of Judicature, and may well ſtand with the oath *ex officio*, as it is formerly limited. Be adviſed therefore (till you underſtand the caſe better) to forbear to talk of the Lamp of nature, in the night of Ethniciſme; but know, that the light of the Law of God, and right reaſon and common practiſe, give ſufficient allowance to that which your miſpriſion cavills at, in thoſe, whom ye ought to

acknowledge the Fathers of the Church. You tell us *of the custome of the Church, and proceedings in the time of* Athanasius, *and the rule of* Gratian; as if we disallowed those just courses, where there is a direct and manifest accusation, and evident proofes to be had; but what doth this hinder, that in case of a justly grounded suspition, and a complaint of an halfe-proved offence, a man should manifest his innocence by oath? That ye might seeme to have seene the Canon-law, you tell us, *that in some cases, it allowes tryall without witnesses, namely, where the crime may be justly called notorious*; & then deeply expound *notorium*, by *manifestũ*, therein plainly contradicting your selves; for, if that be manifest, which is lawfully knowne, by confession, or by probation, or by the evidence of the thing; what probation can there be, (besides confession and evidence) without witnesses? But this errour is as trifling, as your accusation; and after all this waste of words, notwithstanding some personall abuses of officers in undue processes of their Courts, our Bishops and the former are not two.

SECT.

SECT. 12.

YOur next Section hath more pompe of reading in it, then the reſt, but to as little purpoſe, I ſhall trouble you with neglecting it; wee cannot anger a gay man more, than in paſſing by him unſeene; My ground was, that our Biſhops differ not in reſpect of any ſpirituall power, from that, which was delegated from Apoſtolique authority, to *Timothy* and *Titus*; you ſpend your time, in proving that they differ in their imployment, in ſecular and ſtate affaires; But, I aske, is this difference, or fault univerſall, or not? ſure, you cannot ſay they are all thus miſimployed; and if not, why is this blame caſt upon all? why ſhould the calling, and others innocence ſuffer? My cauſe ſhall yeeld you your poſtulate herein, and be no whit the worſe; it is true, the ordinary menaging of ſecular affaires, is not proper for a Biſhop: *Chryſoſtomes* counſell;

Julians practise, *Constantines* bounty, *Cyrills* insolent pompe, the Roman Bishops degenerating, into a secular principality, *Cyprians* grave limitation, the just inhibitions of many Canons, are of an undoubted truth; and we could easily (if need were) adde many more to these, and tell you of those *nequam portas* that must upon the Apostolique Canons be avoyded by sacred persons, & the rigorous charge of *Cyprian*, against *Geminius* victor, for ordaining *Geminius Faustinus*, a Presbyter, but the executor of his last will; with many other the like instances. But what are these to the work in hand? Two exceptions must necessarily be admitted; the one, of extraordinary occasions, and services, as, when a Prince, or State, having had good proofe of the abilities, of an Ecclesiastical person, shall thinke fit, (as now it is done in this great Northern negotiation) to call for his Counsaile, or to imploy his present agency, for a time, in some maine businesse that may import the publique good, and safety of the Church, or Common wealth, so St. *Chrysostome* once, so St. *Ambrose*

Pro dormitione victoris non fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Ecclesia frequentetur. Cypr. *Rogatiano fratri. li. 3. Ep. 9.*

Ambroſe twiſe, was imployed in Embaſſie, from the Emperours: The very trade of Tent-making did as much take up Saint *Paul*, for the time, as a ſtate-imployment might have done; and how many have we knowne, that have (not unprofitably) profeſſed Phyſicke both for ſoule and body; and done much good in both: The other, of a charitable interpoſition in matters of difference for peace and reconciliation; and compoſing of the unkinde quarrels of diſſenting neighbours, wherewith St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auſtine* were ſo extreamly taken up, that the latter makes no little complaint of the importunity of the continuall interpellations; ſuch, as both his morning ſtudies, were diſtracted by them, and the afternoone wholly ſpent in them: and profeſſeth, he could not have the opportunity of opening his eſtate, and heart, to Biſhop *Ambroſe*, by reaſon of that continuall audience of cauſes, dayly brought before that great Prelate: ſurely, if the charity of more of ours have not rendred them more guilty of ſecularity, in this kind, than the ſuppoſed ambition *Aug. Ep.* 110.

of others, there will be no cauſe why our Biſhops, and the Biſhops of former times ſhould be two.

SECT. 13.

IT is true the Remonſtrant ſoares above theſe after-times, even as high as the Apoſtles: As if you knew not this before; when as all this while, you have indeavoured to ſhew that the Apoſtles Biſhops, and ours are two. Wee doe againe profeſſe, that if our Biſhops challenge any other power, then was delegated to, and required of *Timothy* and *Titus*, we ſhall yeeld them uſurpers: you kindly tell us, ſo we deſerve to be, if we doe but challenge the ſame power; and why ſo, I beſeech you brethren; becauſe *Timothy* and *Titus* (yee ſay) were Evangeliſts, and ſo moved in an higher ſphere; Liberally and boldly ſpoken; but where is your proofe? For *Timothy*, ye ſay the Text is cleare: but what Text, what the leaſt intimation have you for *Titus* ſurely not ſo.

ſo much as the leaſt ground of a conjecture; yet how confidently you avow for both: and even for *Timothy* your gloſſe is clear, not your Text: St. *Paul* bids him do the work of an Evangeliſt, what then? that rather intimates that he was none: for he doth not ſay, doe thine owne worke; but the worke of an Evangeliſt: when I tell my friend, that I muſt deſire him to doe the office of a Solicitor, or a Secretary for me: I doe herein intimate, that he is neither; but ſo for the time imployd; why is it not ſo here? And what I beſeech you is the worke of an Evangeliſt, but to preach the Evangell, or good tidings of peace? So, as St. *Paul* herein, gives no other charge to his *Timothy*, than in 2. *Tim.* 4. 2. *Preach the Word, be inſtant, in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon*: And this you ſay and urge, ro bee the worke of a Biſhop too: well, therefore may *Timothy*, notwithſtanding this charge, be no other than a Biſhop: What need theſe works to bee contradiſtinguiſhed? St. *Paul* ſayes of himſelfe, *Whereto I am appoynted a Preacher, and an Apoſtle, and a teacher of the Gentiles*; what? 2 Tim. 1. 11.

ſhal we ſay St. *Paul* was an Apoſtle, he was not a Preacher, or not a Doctor, but an Apoſtle? You diſtinguiſh of Evangeliſts; the word is taken either for the writers of the Goſpell, or for the teachers of it; and why then was not St. *Paul* an Evangeliſt, who profeſſed to bee a teacher of the Goſpell to the Gentiles? Theſe teaching Evangeliſts, you dreame to bee of two ſorts; the one, thoſe that had ordinary places and gifts; the other extraordinary: But tell mee ſirs, for my learning; where doe you find thoſe ordinary-placed, and ordinary-gifted Evangeliſts? unleſſe you meane to compriſe all Preachers under this name? and then a Biſhop may be an Evangeliſt alſo; ſo, as the difference of a Biſhop and an Evangeliſt vaniſheth. The truth is, theſe ordinary Evangeliſts are a new fiction; their true imployment was to bee ſent by the Apoſtles, from place to place, for the preaching of the Goſpell, without a ſetled reſidence upon any one charge: upon this advantage, you raiſe a ſlight argument, That St. *Paul* beſought *Timothy* to abide at

at *Epheſus*. 1. *Tim.* 1. 3. which had been a needleſſe importunity if he had had the Epiſcopall charge of *Epheſus*; for then he muſt have neceſſarily reſided there: whereas you recite ſeverall proofes and occaſions of his abſence, which will appeare to be of little force, if a man doe duely conſider the ſtate of thoſe times: the neceſſity whereof in that firſt plantation of the Goſpell, made even the moſt fixed Stars planetary, calling them, frequently, from the places of their abode, to thoſe ſervices which were of moſt uſe for the ſucceſſe of that great worke: yet ſo, as that either after their errands fully-done, or upon all oportune intermiſſions, they returned to their owne chaire: The ſtory therefore of thoſe journal computations might wel have beene ſpared.

Your argument from *Pauls* calling the Elders of *Epheſus* to *Miletus*, how ever you leane upon, it will prove but a Reed.

Your ſelves confeſſe, (I know not upon what certaine ground, that *Timothy* was at the meeting, *Acts* 20. with Saint *Paul*: Had hee beene Biſhop there, the Apoſtle

Apoſtle (you ſay) *in ſtead of giving the Elders a charge to feed the flock of Chriſt, would have given that charge to* Timothy, *and not to them: Beſides, the Apoſtle would not ſo have forgotten himſelfe, as to call the Elders Biſhops, before the Biſhops face; and would have given them ſome directions, how to carry themſelves to their Biſhop:* In all which, Brethren, you goe upon a wrong ground; will ye grant that theſe aſſembled perſons were Preſbyters, and not Biſhops? under ſome Biſhop, though not under *Timothy*? otherwiſe, why doe you argue from the want of directions to them, as inferiours? but if they were indeed Biſhops, and not mere Presbyters, (as the word it ſelfe imports) your argument is loſt: For then the charge is equally given to *Timothy*, and all the reſt; and it was no forgetfulneſſe to call them as they were: you are ſtraight ready to reply, *how unpoſſible it is* (according to us) *there ſhould be many Biſhops in one City; and here were many Prebyters from Epheſus*: but let me mind you, that though theſe Presbyters were ſent for from *Epheſus*, yet they were not ſaid to be all

ἐπισκόπους.

of

of *Epheſus*: Thither they were called to meet St. *Paul* in all likelihood, from divers parts, which he ſeemes to imply, when he ſaith; *Ye all amongſt whom I have gone, preaching the Kingdome of God*; intimating, the ſuper-intendents of ſeverall places; ſo as, notwithſtanding theſe urged probabilities, *Timothy* might have been, both before this time, and at that preſent Biſhop of *Epheſus*; after which, if *Paul* tooke him along with him to *Hieruſalem*, this is no derogation to his Epiſcopacy: And if *Timothy* were yet, after this, priſoner with St. *Paul* at *Rome*, (as you argue from *Hebr.* 13. 23.) this is no derogation from his *Epiſcopacy* at *Epheſus*; But to cut the ſinewes of all this ſtrong proofe of your computation; it is more than probable, that, whereas the whole Hiſtory of the *Acts* ends with *Pauls* firſt being at *Rome*, that Apoſtle ſurvived divers yeares, and paſſed many travells, and did many great matters for the plantation, and ſetling of Churches, whereof we can look for no account from Scripture, ſave by ſome glances in his following Epiſtles; into which time,

theſe occurrents concerning *Timothy* and *Titus*, his ordination did fall, as may bee juſtly proved out of the Chronologicall Table of *Jacob Cappellus*, compared with *Baronius*: Now then, the Reader may take his choyſe, whether he will believe all antiquity, (that have medled with this ſubject) affirming *Timothy* to have beene Biſhop of *Epheſus*, or whether he will believe a new hatched contradiction of yeſterday, raiſed out of imaginary probabilities. Shortly, it is farre enough from appearing, that *Timothy* was no *Biſhop*, but a Miniſter, an Evangeliſt, a fellow labourer of the Apoſtles, an Apoſtle, a Meſſenger of the Church; it rather appeares, that he was all theſe in divers ſences, and upon ſeverall occaſions.

The like ye ſay of *Titus*, whom you are pleaſed to create an Evangeliſt, not being able to ſhew, that ever God made him ſo; ſave in that generall ſence that might well ſtand with *Epiſcopacy*; you tell us a ſtory of his peregrination in the attendance of *Paul*; wherein you ſhall not expect any contradiction; but you ſhal give me leave

to

to take you tripping a little in your own Tale: from *Cilicia*, you say, *Paul passed to Creet, where he left Titus for a while, to set in order things that remaine*: this (for a while) you put into a different Character, as if it were part of the Text; and guiltily translate (τὰ λειπόμενα) things that remaine, whereas ours turne it (in a more full expression of an *Episcopall* power) things that are wanting, or left undone: But this is not the matter, you doe yet againe repeat the (for a while) urging the short time that *Titus* could be left at *Creet*; and yet, in your owne marginall computation there is no lesse distance of time, betwixt this placing in *Creet*, and sending for him to his next remove, unto *Nicopolis*, than betwixt the yeare 46. and 51. the space of five yeeres, which was a large gap of time, in that unsetled condition, and manifold distractive occasions of the Church; If afterwards hee were by Apostolicall command called away to attend the more concerning services of the Church; this could no whit have impeacht the truth of his *Episcopacy*; But

the truth is, he was ordained by St. *Paul*, after all those journyes mentioned in the *Acts*, (And as *Baronius* with great consent of Antiquity computes it) a yeare after *Timothy*; so, as you may well put up your conclusion, as rather begged than inforced, and cast it upon the Readers courtesie to beleeve you against all *antiquity*, that *Titus* was an *Evangelist* and no *Bishop*; whereas these two may well agree together, he was an Evangelist when hee travelled abroad; he was a Bishop afterwards, when he stayed and setled at home.

You object to your selfe *the authority of some Fathers, that have called* Timothy *and* Titus *Bishops*: *Some?* name, if you can; that Father that hath called them otherwise: Away with these envious diminutions, when yee have a cloud of vvitnesses of much antiquity, vvhich averre *Timothy* and *Titus* to have both lived, and dyed *Bishops*, the one of *Ephesus*, of *Creet* the other: yea but so some Fathers have called them *Arch-Bishops* and *Patriarchs* too: What of that? therein they have then acknovvledged them Bishops, paramount;

And

And if *Titus* were *Biſhop* of *Creet*, which was of old (ἑκατόμπολις) the hundred-city-ed Iſland, and *Timothy* of *Epheſus*, the Metropolis of *Aſia*, the multitude of the territories under them, whiles it inlargeth their charge, doth detract nothing from the truth of their office.

Secondly, *you tell us from learned* D. Raynolds, *that the Fathers, when they called any Apoſtle Biſhop, they meant it in a generall ſort, and ſignification; becauſe they did attend that Church for a time, and ſupply that roome in preaching the Goſpell, which Biſhops did after; not intending it, as it is commonly taken, for the over-ſeer of a particular Church, and Paſtor of a ſeverall flocke*: But, what is this to *Timothy* and *Titus*? you ſay, the ſame may bee ſaid of them, but the Doctor gave you no leave ſo to apply it; neither doe we: Although to ſay truth, all this diſcourſe of yours is (ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ) needleſſe, and extravagant: whether *Timothy* or *Titus* were *Evangeliſts*, or no, ſure wee are, that here they ſtand for perſons charged with thoſe Offices, and cares which are delivered to the ordinary Church governours, in all ſucceeding

ſucceeding generations: And we do moſt juſtly take them, as we finde them; and with our firſt confidence maintaine, that wee challenge no other ſpirituall power, than was delegated unto them, and to the Angels of the *Aſian Churches*; you meane to confute us by queſtions; and thoſe ſo poore and frivolous, as are not worth anſwer; faſtning that upon ſome particular abuſe, which wee diſclaime from our calling; as if under this claime, wee were bound to juſtifie every act of a Biſhop. To anſwer you in your owne kinde: when, or where did our Biſhops challenge power to ordain alone, to governe alone? when (though you ignorantly turne an Elder in age, to an Elder in office) did our Biſhops challenge power to paſſe a rough and unbeſeeming rebuke upon an Elder? Where did our Biſhops give Commiſſion to *Chancelors*, *Commiſſaries*, *Officialls*, to raile upon Presbyters, or to accuſe them without juſt grounds, and without legall proceedings? As for your laſt queſtion, I muſt tell you it is no better raiſed than upon an ignorant negative. Did the Apoſtle

Apoſtle ſay, reject none but an Heretick? Did he not wiſh, would to God they were cut off that trouble you? Is it not certainly proved true, that ſome *Schiſmatick* may be worſe than ſome *Heretick*; which I ſpeake not ſo, as to traduce any of our unconforming brethren, whoſe conſciences are unſetled in the point of this meane difference, as guilty of that hatefull crime: but to convince the abſurdity of our queſtioniſts; after whoſe ill raiſed cavills, thus fully anſwered, wee have no cauſe to feare, upon their ſuggeſtions, to be diſclaimed as uſurpers.

From *Timothy* and *Titus* you deſcend *to the Angels of the ſeven* Aſian *Churches; which no ſubtilty at all, but the common intereſt of their condition, hath twiſted together in our defence.*

In the generality vvhereof I muſt premoniſh my Reader, that this peece of the taske fell unhappily upon ſome dull and tedious hand, that cared not how oft ſod Coleworts he diſhed out to his credulous gueſts; I ſhall (what I may) prevent their ſurfet.

Your

Your ſhift is, that the Angell is here taken collectively, not individually: A conceit, which if your ſelves, certainly no other wiſe man can ever believe; *for if the intereſt be common and equally appertaining to all, why ſhould one be ſingled out above the reſt? If you will yeeld the perſon to be ſuch, as had, more than others, a right in the adminiſtration of all, it is that wee ſeeke for:* Surely, it did in ſome ſort concerne all that was ſpoken to him, becauſe he had the charge of all; but the direction is individuall, as *Beza* himſelfe takes it; as if a Letter be indorſed from the Lords of the Counſaile to the Biſhop of *Durham* or *Salisbury*, concerning ſome affaires of the whole Clergy of their Dioceſſe, can we ſay that the name Biſhop, is there no other than a collective; becauſe the buſines may import many? verily I do not believe that the Authors of this ſence can believe it themſelves. To your invincible proofes: In the Epiſtle to *Thiatira* you ſay it is written (ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς) I ſay
Rev. 2. 24. to you, and to the reſt: where (*by you*) muſt (as you imagine) be ſignified, the Governours

Governours; by the reſt, the people: but what if the better Copyes read, (ὑμῖν ϗ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς) I ſay to you, the reſt in *Thyatira*, without the copulative, as is confeſſed by your good friends? where then is your doughty Argument? Here are no diviſions of parties, but the Paſtor and Flock. And truely thus it is; and my owne eyes have ſeene it, in that noble Manuſcript, written by the hand of *Tecla* (as is probably ſuppoſed) ſome 1300. yeares agoe, as *Cyrill*, the late renowned Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* avoweth, your goodly proofe therefore is in the ſuds. But to meet with you in your own kinde, if you will goe upon divers Readings; what will you ſay to that *verſ.* 20. where the Angel of *Thyatira* is encharged: Thou ſuffereſt τὴν γυναῖκά σου Ἰεζεβελ (thy wife *Jezebel*) (for ſo it is in very good Copies) to teach, and ſeduce; yea, ſo it is in that memorable Copy of *Tecla*, forementioned, which is to bee ſeene in the Princes Library, under the cuſtody of the induſtrious and learned Mr. *Patrick Yong*,

as my owne eyes can witneſſe: and thus St. *Cyprian* reads it of old: *What? ſhall we thinke ſhe was wife to the whole company, or to one Biſhop alone?* I leave you to bluſh, for the ſhame this proofe alone caſts upon your opinion: Secondly, you tell us, it is uſuall with the Holy Ghoſt, even in this very booke, to expreſſe a company under one ſingular perſon: as, *the Beaſt is the Civill ſtate; the Whore, and the falſe Prophet, the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate of Rome*: But what if it be thus in viſions, or emblematicall repreſentations? muſt it needs be ſo in plaine narrations, where it is limited by juſt Prædicates? or becauſe it is ſo in one phraſe of ſpeech, muſt it bee ſo in all? Why doe you not as well ſay, where the Lambe is named, or the Lion of *Juda*, this is a collective of many; not an individuall ſubject: The *ſeven Angels*, you ſay, *that blew the ſeven trumpets, and poured out the ſeven phialls, are not to bee taken literally, but ſynecdochically*; perhaps ſo, but then the *ſynecdoche* lyes in the ſeven, and not in the *Angels*; ſo I grant you the

Cypr. l. 4. ad Antonianum Epiſt.

the word *Angel*, is here metaphoricall; but you are no whit nearer to your imagined *Synecdoche*.

The very name *Angel*, (you say) is sufficient proofe, that it is not meant of one person alone, as being a common name to all Gods Ministers, and Messengers: As if hee did not well know this that directed these Epistles: and if he had so meant it, had it not beene as easie to have mentioned more as one? Had hee said, *the Angels of the Church of Ephesus*, or *Thyatira*, the cause had beene cleare: now, hee sayes *the Angel* ὁ ἄγγελος the denoted person must be singular; for surely you cannot say that all the Presbyters at *Ephesus* were one *Angel*: The same reason holds for the starres; had he said, *to the Starre of Ephesus*, I suppose no body would have construed it of many, but of one eminent person: Now hee speakes of so many Starres, as *Angels*, to wit, seven in those seven Churches.

Your fourth Argument from the Text

it ſelfe, as no better than ridiculous: poorly drawne from what it doth not ſay: Lo, he ſaith, T*he* 7. *Candleſticks which thou ſaweſt, are the* 7. *Churches*: but hee doth not ſay, the 7. *Starrs* are the 7. *Angels* of the ſame Churches: but, *the Angels of the* 7. *Churches*. Forbeare, if you can, Readers, to ſmile at this curious ſubtilty: becauſe, the ſeven is not twice repeated, in mentioning the *Angels*, there is a deepe myſtery in the omiſſion. What Cabaliſme have we here? Had hee ſaid, the ſeven Starres are the *ſeven Angels of the ſeven Churches*, now, all had beene ſure; but he ſaith not ſo, but onely thus; the ſeven Starres are the *Angels of the ſeven Churches*, It is plaine, that every Church hath his *Angel* mentioned; and there being ſeven Churches, how many *Angels*, I beſeech you, are there? now becauſe he doth not ſay expreſſely in termes, *ſeven Angels of the ſeven Churches*, we are foyled in our proofe; judge Reader, what to expect of ſo deep ſpeculations.

Revel. 1. 20.

Laſtly, *it is evident* (you ſay) *though*

but

but one Angel bee mentioned in the front, yet the Epiſtles themſelves bee dedicated to all the Angels and Miniſters, and to the Churches themſelves; who ever doubted it? the foote of every Epiſtle runnes [what the Spirit ſaith to the *Churches*] not to one Church, but to all ſeven: If therefore you argue, that the name *Angel* is collective, ſay alſo that every of theſe *ſeven Angels*, is the whole company of all the ſeven Churches, which were a foule non-ſence; you might have ſaved the labour both of *Auſbertus*, and the reſt of your Authors, and your owne; wee never thought otherwiſe, but that the whole Church is ſpoken to; but ſo, as that the Governour or Biſhop is ſingled out, as one that hath the maine ſtroke in ordering the affaires thereof, and is therefore either praiſed, or challenged, according to his carriage therein; although alſo there are ſuch particularities both of commendations, and exceptions, in the body of the ſeverall Epiſtles, as cannot but have relation to thoſe ſeverall

over-ſeers, to whom they were endorſed, as I have elſe where ſpecified; Had all the Presbyters of *Epheſus* loſt their firſt love? had each of them tryed the falſe Apoſtles? Had all thoſe of *Sardis* a name to live, and were dead? Were all the *Laodicean* Miniſters of one temper? theſe taxations were no doubt of individuall perſons, but ſuch, as in whom the whole Churches were intereſſed.

As for thoſe conjecturall reaſons, which you frame to your ſelves, why the whole company of Presbyters ſhould be written to under the ſingular name of an *Angel*, if ye pleaſe your ſelves with them, it is wel; from me they have no cauſe to expect an anſwer: they neither can draw my aſſent, nor merit my confutation.

Take heed of yielding that, which yee cannot but yield to be granted by Doctor *Raynolds*, and Maſter *Beza*, Doctor *Fulke*, *Pareus*, and others, that the *Angel* is here taken individually; but ſtill, if you be wiſe, hold your owne; that our cauſe is no whit advanced, nor yours impaired

impaired by this yieldance: Let him have beene an *Angel*, yet what makes this for a Dioceſan Biſhop? much every way: For if the Church of *Epheſus* (for example) had many Miniſters, or Presbyters in it to inſtruct the people in their ſeveral charges, (as it is manifeſt they had) and yet but one prime Over-ſeer, which is ſingled out by the Spirit of God, and ſtiled by a title of eminence, *the Angel of that Church*, it muſt needs follow, that in Saint *Johns* time there was an acknowledged ſuperiority in the government of the Church: if there were many *Angels* in each, and yet but one that was the *Angel*, who can make doubt of an inequality?

It is but a pittifull ſhift that you make, in pleading *that theſe Angels* (if Biſhops) *yet were not Dioceſan Biſhops; for that Pariſhes were not divided into Dioceſes* (I had thought Dioceſes ſhould have been divided into Pariſhes rather) *in Saint* Johns *dayes*: For by the ſame reaſon, I may as well argue, that they were not Parochiall Biſhops

Biſhops neither, ſince that then no Pariſhes were as yet diſtinguiſhed : As if you had reſolved to ſpeake nothing but Bulls, and Soloeciſmes ; you tell me, that the ſeven Starres are ſaid to be fixed in their ſeven Candleſticks ; whereas thoſe Starres are ſaid to bee in the right hand of the Sonne of God : But (ſay you ſtill) not one Starre was over divers Candleſticks : Truely no ; who ever ſaid, that one *Angel* was over all the ſeven Churches ? but that each of theſe famous Churches were under their owne Starre, or Angel ; but thoſe Churches you ſay were not *Dioceſan* : How doth that appeare ? Becauſe, firſt *Tindall*, and the old Tranſlation calls them ſeven Congregations : for anſwer, who knowes not that *Tindall*, and the old Tranſlation are ſtill wont to tranſlate the word Church, whereſoever they finde it, by Congregation, which ſome Papiſts have laid in our diſh : Learned Doctor *Fulk* hath well cleared our intentions herein from their cenſure : *Tindall* himſelfe profeſſes to doe it out of this reaſon, becauſe

becauſe the Popiſh Clergy had appropriated to themſelves the name of the Church; but however, they rather made uſe of the Word; yet not ſo, as that hereby they intend onely to ſignifie Pariſhionall meetings. So *Epheſians* 3. To the intent that now to the Rulers and Powers in heavenly places, might bee knowne by the Congregation, the manifold Wiſedome of GOD; Doe wee thinke this bleſſed Revelation confined to a Pariſh, or common to the whole Church of God? So 1. *Corinthians* 15. they turne, *I am not worthy to bee called an Apoſtle, becauſe I perſecuted the Congregation of GOD*: Doe we thinke his cruelty was confined to a Pariſh? So *Matthew* 6. 16. *Vpon this Rocke will I build my Congregation*: was this a Pariſh onely? So *Acts* 11. *Herod the King ſtretched out his hands to vexe certaine of the Congregation*: Was his

malice onely Parochiall? But secondly, yee tell us, that in *Ephesus*, which was one of those Candlesticks, there was but one flocke. *Acts* 20. 28. Yea, but can you tell us what kinde of Flocke it was, whether Nationall, or Provinciall, or Diocesan? Parochiall I am sure it could not bee: you have heard before, that those Elders, or Bishops were sent for from *Ephesus*: But that they were all of *Ephesus* it cannot bee proved; when all of them then are bidden to take heed to the Flocke of Christ, whereof they are made over-seers, each is herein charged to looke to his owne; and all are in the next words required to feed the Church of GOD, which hee hath purchased with his owne blood. So as your second argument is fully answered in the solution of the first, and in the former passages of this Section. The advantage that you take

take from *Epiphanius*, affirming that divers Cities of that time might have two Bishops, whereas Alexandria held close to one, can availe you little, when it shall bee well weighed; first, that your Tenet supposeth and requireth that every Presbyter should bee a Bishop, and therefore (if your cause speed) there should be no fewer Bishops than parishes. Secondly, that the practise of the whole Church, both before and after *Epiphanius*, is by such cleare testimonies convinced to bee contrary: famous, and irrefragable, is that Canon of *Nicen* Councell, ἐν μιᾷ, &c. that in one City there might not bee two Bishops: so before this, *Cornelius* writing to the Bishop of *Antioch*, objects it scornfully to Novation, that hee did not know ἐν ἑνὶ μόνον δεῖν, &c. that in a Catholike Church there ought to be but one Bishop; And it is a knowne word of the Confessors

Conc. Nic. Can. 8.

of old, in *Cyprians* time, one GOD, one Lord, one Bishop: Make much (if you please) of this conceit of yours, that *Epiphanius* his Neighbour-hood might acquaint him well with the Condition of the *Asian* Churches: But let mee adde, that you shall approve your selves meere strangers to all the rules and practises of antiquity: if you shall stand upon the generall plurality of Bishops in the same City, or Dioces: And last of all, remember, that *Epiphanius* reckons up *Aerius* as an Hereticke, for holding Presbyters equall with Bishops.

Your third argument, *that there is nothing said in these seven Epistles, that implyes a superiority*, is answered by the very Superscription of each Letter, which is, τῷ ἀγγέλῳ *To the Angel*: and much more by the matter of the severall Epistles: For what reason were it for an ordinary Presbyter

to

to bee taxed for that, which hee hath no power to redreſſe? That the *Angel* of *Pergamus* ſhould bee blamed for the having of thoſe which hold the Doctrine of *Balaam*, or the *Nicolaitans*, when hee had no power to proceed againſt them? or the *Angel* of the Church of *Thyatira*, for ſuffering the Woman *Jezabel*, (if it muſt bee ſo read) to teach, and ſeduce, when hee had no power of publick cenſure to reſtraine her? But what need wee ſtand upon conjecturall anſwers, to convince you in this plea, as likewiſe in the ſuppoſed Deciſion of the kinde of ſuperiority, which you urge in the next paragraph; when wee are able to ſhew both who the parties were, to whom ſome of theſe Epiſtles were directed, and to evince the high degree of their ſuperiority; *Ignatius* the bleſſed Martyr (beſides *Tertullian*) ſhall bee our witneſſe for both,

Ignat. ad Epheſ ἐν Ονησίμῳ τῷ ἐπ' ἀγάπῃ ἀφθ ἡντω; ὑμῶν ἡ ἐπισκόπω, &c.

both, who tells us that *Oneſimus* was now the *Angel* or *Biſhop* of *Epheſus*, *Polycarpus* of *Smyrna*; and as Commenting upon this very ſubject, oft ingeminates the duty of Subjection owing to the Biſhop; and the divers degrees of thoſe three ſeverall ſtations in the Church; as wee already inſtanced; away then with thoſe your unproving illuſtrations, and unregardable teſtimonies, which you (as deſtitute of all Antiquity) ſhut up the Scæne withall: And let the wiſe Reader judge, whether the *Remonſtrant* hath not from the evidence of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the *Aſian* Churches, made good that juſt claime of this ſacred Hierarchy, againſt all your weake and frivolous pretentions. From the *Remonſtrant* (leſt your Diſcourſe ſhould not be tedious enough) you flye upon ſome other Defenders of the Hierarchy, and fall upon the two

two Poſt-ſcripts of Saint *Pauls* Epiſtles (to *Timothy* and *Titus*, wherein *Timothy* and *Titus* are ſtiled the firſt Biſhops of *Epheſus*, and *Creet*) which I am no way engaged to defend: You ſay, *they are not of Canonicall authority*; ſo ſay I too; but I ſay they are of great antiquity, and ſo you muſt confeſſe alſo.

Faine would I ſee, but any pretence of ſo much age againſt the matter of thoſe Subſcriptions: the averred Epiſcopacy of *Timothy* and *Titus*, cited by theſe confident Antiquaries: ſurely he were ſenceleſſe, that would imagine the Poſt-ſcripts as old as the Text, or as authenticke; but wee may boldly ſay, they are older than any Records of the gain-ſayers.

Where theſe Subſcriptions are not ſeconded by Authority of the Ancient Church, there I leave them; but where they are ſo well backed,

backed, there is no reaſon to forſake them. The Exception therefore which you take at the Poſtſcript of the Epiſtle to *Titus*, is not more ſtale than unjuſt. You ſay peremptorily, it was not written from *Nicopolis*; neither was *Paul* then there: how appeares it? Becauſe hee ſayes in the body of the Epiſtle, come to mee to *Nicopolis*, for I am determined there to winter: Hee ſaith not, Here to winter, but there: as ſpeaking of a third place: but how ſlight this ground is, will be eaſily apparent to any man that ſhall conſider, that Saint *Paul* was in perpetuall journying from place to place: And therefore, though now at that inſtant at *Nicopolis*, yet how ſoone occaſions might call him away, and how long, hee knew not: Therefore it was moſt fit that hee ſhould pitch upon a certaine

taine place, whither *Titus* ſhould direct his way toward him : Notwithſtanding your gheſſe therefore, ſince holy *Athanaſius* plainely tells us, that Saint *Paul* wrote this Epiſtle from *Nicopolis* ; and is therein followed by *Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact*, and in that famous ancient Manuſcript, ſent by the late Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* ; I finde it plainly dated in *Nicopolis*. It muſt needs follow, that either this Subſcription was before *Athanaſius* and *Teclaes* time ; or elſe that they went upon ſome other good ground of their aſſertion.

Laſtly, it may well goe for a reaſon of your owne making, that the Poſt-ſcript ſtiles *Titus* Biſhop of the Church of the Cretians ; whereas it would bee ſaid of the Churches of the Cretians ; for the Chriſtian Churches, of any Nation, are called by *Luke* and *Paul* Churches, and not

Church: Who would not yeeld you this truth, that the Christian Churches are called Churches? what can they bee called else, when they are mentioned in their severall diversities; but when they are upon some intire relation, conjoyned and united, as these of *Crete*, under one government, they may well bee called not the Churches, but the Church. That flash of wit might well have beene forborne, wherein you make an envious comparison betwixt the Authority of these Subscriptions, and Episcopall Authority, of urging Subscription to their Ceremonies: And why theirs, I beseech you? Have you beene urged to subscribe to any other Ceremonies, than have beene established by the Lawes of this Realme and Church? Was it Episcopall power that enacted them? Had you beene but as obedient, these Ceremonies had been equally yours:

yours: Now out of pure love you impose that upon us, which you repined that the Lawes should impose upon you: Goe on thus Charitably and prosper.

Because you wanted worke from the *Remonstrance*, you will cut out some for your selves: An Objection of your owne must bee answered, that is, from the inequalitie, that was betweene the twelve Apostles, and the seventy Disciples: And well may you shape your owne Answer to your owne Objection: It cannot bee proved, you say, that the twelve had any superiority over the seventy, either of Ordination, or Jurisdiction. What? have you forgotten, brethren, that the Apostles ordained the Deacons, *Acts* 6. 6. *by Prayer and imposition of hands*? That the Apostle *Paul* laid his hands on *Timothy*? Have you forgotten how by vertue of his Apostleship hee char-

Church : Who would not yeeld you this truth, that the Christian Churches are called Churches ? what can they bee called elſe, when they are mentioned in their ſeverall diverſities; but when they are upon ſome intire relation, conjoyned and united, as theſe of *Creet*, under one government, they may well bee called not the Churches, but the Church. That flaſh of wit might well have beene forborne, wherein you make an envious compariſon betwixt the Authority of theſe Subſcriptions, and Epiſcopall Authority, of urging Subſcription to their Ceremonies : And why theirs, I beſeech you ? Have you beene urged to ſubſcribe to any other Ceremonies, than have beene eſtabliſhed by the Lawes of this Realme and Church ? Was it Epiſcopall power that enacted them ? Had you beene but as obedient, theſe Ceremonies had been equally yours :

yours: Now out of pure love you impoſe that upon us, which you repined that the Lawes ſhould impoſe upon you: Goe on thus Charitably and proſper.

Becauſe you wanted worke from the *Remonſtrance*, you will cut out ſome for your ſelves: An Objection of your owne muſt bee anſwered; that is, from the inequalitie, that was betweene the twelve Apoſtles, and the ſeventy Diſciples: And well may you ſhape your owne Anſwer to your owne Objection: It cannot bee proved, you ſay, that the twelve had any ſuperiority over the ſeventy, either of Ordination, or Juriſdiction. What? have you forgotten, brethren, that the Apoſtles ordained the Deacons, *Acts* 6. 6. *by Prayer and impoſition of hands?* That the Apoſtle *Paul* laid his hands on *Timothy?* Have you forgotten how by vertue of his Apoſtleſhip hee char-

ges, Commands, Controlles, Censures? What is, if this bee not Ordination and Jurisdiction? But (say you) suppose it were so; yet a superiority and inferiority betweene Officers of different kindes, will not prove a superiority and inferiority betweene Officers of the same kinde. Deeply argued; Surely hence you may inferre, that one Bishop is not superiour to another; nor one Presbyter above another; but that a Bishop should not bee superiour to a Presbyter, were an uncouth consequence: If the twelve Apostles therefore were superiours to the 70. Disciples, and Bishops (as your owne *Jerome* tells you) succeed those Apostles, and Presbyters come in the roome of the seventy, where is that identity or sameneſſe of kind which you pretend? All Antiquity hath acknowledged, three severall rankes in the Church-Hierarchy; and if you have a minde

So *Cyprian*, *Episcopis loquens*, &c. *Qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt.* Ep. 69. *Unitas per Apostolos novis successoribus tradita.* Ep. 41 *Meminisse debent Diaconi quoniam Apostolos. i. e. Episcopos & præpositos Dominus elegit.* Ep. 65.

τρεῖς βαθμους.

a minde to jumble them together, take away the difference betwixt Presbyters, and Deacons, as well as that betwixt Bishops and Presbyters, *Jam sumus ergo pares.*

And now wee appeale to the same Barre, how farre you have beene from disproving the Divine right, or Apostolicall institution of Episcopacy; and whether your relyance npon *Hieromes* Authority in this poynt hath beene grounded upon any other reason, but your owne weak presumption. Yet still like (as I have heard) some beaten Cocks, you dare crow; and tell your Reader, that though Scriptures faile us, yet wee support our selves by the indulgence and munificence of religious Princes: surely, if GOD should have withdrawne himselfe, in vaine should wee make flesh our armes: Our calling we challenge from God; some accessory Titles, Dignities, Maintenance, we thank-

thankfully profesſe to have received from the bountie of royall Benefactors: What of this? herein, you ſay, the Author acknowledgeth a difference, between our Biſhops, and the Biſhops of old. Yet verily, ſo he gladly doth, with all humble thankfulneſſe to God, and good Princes: make your beſt of this conceſſion. Suddainly you fall faire, and profeſſe your well pleaſedneſſe, with the liberall maintenance of the Church, although ſomewhat yet ſticks with you: when the Miniſtery came to have *agros, domos, locationes, vehicula*; and as you ſay from *Chryſoſtome*, then *Religio peperit divitias*, Religion brought forth riches, and the Daughter devoured the Mother; and a voyce was heard from heaven, *Hodie venenum*: and then you tell us of wooden Prieſts, and golden Chalices. But, Brethren, take no care for this danger, Our laſt age hath begun to take ſufficient order for the redreſſe

dresse of this evill: and if in time you shall see wooden Chalices, and wooden Priests, thank your selves.

However, you grant there is not an incompossibility betwixt large Revevenues, and an humble Sociableneſſe, yet you say, it is rare; and tell us, that the rich provision of Bishops hath ushered in, both neglect of their Ministerie, and pompous attendance, and insultation over their brethren: and you instance in the pride of *Paulus Samosatenus*, and shut up with the grave complaint of *Sulpitius Severus*. It is not to be denyed, brethren, that some such ill use hath beene made, by some, of their abundance: but surely, in this ablative age, the fault is rare, and hardly instanceable; both the wings and traine of many of ours have beene so clipped, that there is no great feare of flying high. But if it be so, the fault is fixed to the person, who with more grace might otherwise im-

prove

prove the blessing. Cast your eyes upon others, even your owne great Patrons, and tell mee if you doe not espie the same ill use of large meanes, and flattering prosperity; yet you desire not to abridge their store, but to rectifie the imployment of it: Learne to be so charitable to your spirituall superiors.

And now at last you give a *vale* to your *Remonstrants* Arguments, and shut up with a bold recollection, concerning which, let mee say thus much; Truely, Brethren, had you as good a faculty in strewing, as you have in gathering, there were no dealing with you: but it is your ill hap to tell the reader in your recapitulation of great feates that you have done in your former discourse, when as he must needs professe that he sees no such matter, I appeal to his judicious eies, whether in all this tedious passage, you have proved any thing but your owne bold ignorance, and absurd inconsequences.

SECT.

SECT. XIV.

MY ſatisfaction to objections comes next to be ſcanned; Objections, which would to God they were only of my own framing?

In the firſt. That Epiſcopacy is no prejudice of Soveraigntie, I juſtly prove, for that there is a compatibleneſſe in this caſe of Gods act, and the Kings. It is God that makes the Biſhop, the King that gives the Biſhoprick: What can you ſay to this?

You tell us you have already proved that God never made a Biſhop, as hee ſtands in ſuperiority over Presbyters, So you told us; and that is enough; we were hard hearted if we would not believe you: When as we have made good by undeniable proofs, that (beſides the grounds which our Saviour layd of this imparity) the bleſſed Apoſtles by inſpiration from God, made this difference in a perſonall ordaining of ſome above the reſt, and giving expreſſe charge of Ordination and Iuriſdiction to thoſe

ſelect perſons, in Church-government, the Biſhops have ever ſince ſucceded.

Tell us not therefore, that if we diſclaim the influence of Soveraignty into our Creation, and aſſert that the King doth not make us Biſhops, we muſt have no being at all; For, that the Reader may ſee you ſtop your owne mouth; anſwer mee, I beſeech you, Where, or when ever did the King create a Biſhop? name the man, and take the cauſe. It pleaſes his Majeſty to give his *Congedelier* for a Biſhops Election to his See, to ſignifie his Royall aſſent thereunto; upon which the Biſhop is ſolemnly ordained by the impoſition of the hands of the Metropolitan, and other his Brethren; and theſe doe, as from God, inveſt him in his holy Calling, which he exerciſes in that place, which is deſigned and given by his Majeſty: What can be more plaine then this truth? As for that unworthy cenſure which you paſſe upon the juſt compariſon of Kings in order to Biſhops, and Patrons in order to their Clerks, it ſhall be acknowledged, well deſerved, if you ſhall be able to make good the diſparity; *When he ſhall prove* (you ſay) *that*

that the Patron gives miniſteriall power to his Clerke, as the King gives Epiſcopall power to the Biſhop, it may be of ſome conducement to his cauſe: Shortly, brethren, the ſame day that you ſhall ſhew me that the King ordained a Biſhop, the ſame day will I ſhew you that a Patron ordained a Presbyter: The Patron gives the Benefice to the one, the King gives the Biſhopricke to the other; neither of them doe give the Office, or Calling to either. Goe you therefore with your Frier *Simon*, to your Cell, and conſult with your Covent for more reaſon and wit, then you ſhew in this, and the next ſcornfull *Paragraph*; wherein whiles you flout at my modeſt cõceſſion with an unbeſeeming frump, you are content ſilently to balke that my ſecond anſwer, which you know was too hot, or too heavy for your ſatisfaction;

In the ſecond, The Imputation pretended to be caſt by this Tenet upon all the Reformed Churches, which want this government; I indevoured ſo to ſatisfie, that I might juſtly decline the envy, which is intended to be thereby raiſed againſt us: For which cauſe, I profeſſed that wee doe love

and honour those our sister Churches, as the dear Spouse of Christ, and give zealous testimonies of my well wishing to them;

Your uncharitablenesse offers to choak me with those scandalous censures, and disgracefull terms which some of ours have let fall upon those Churches, and their eminent professors, which I confesse, it is more easie to be sory for, then (on some hands) to excuse; The errour of a few may not be imputed to all.

My just defence is that no such consequent can be drawn from our opinion; for as much as the Divine or Apostolical right, which wee hold, goes not so high, as if there were an expresse command, that, upon an absolute necessity there must be either Episcopacy, or no Church; but so far only, that it both may, and ought to be; How fain would you here find me in a contradiction? Whiles I one-where reckon Episcopacy amongst matters essential to the Church, another where, deny it to be of the essence thereof; Wherein you willingly hide your eys that you may not see the distinction that I make expresly betwixt the Being & Well-

being

being of a Church : affirming that thoſe Churches, to whom this power & faculty is denied, loſe nothing of the true eſſence of a Church, though they miſſe ſomething of their glory, and perfection.

No, Brethren, it is enough for ſome of your friends to hold their Diſcipline altogether eſſentiall to the very being of a Church; We dare not be ſo zealous.

The queſtion which you ask concerning the reaſon of the different intertainment, given in our Church to Prieſts converted to us from *Rome*, and to Miniſters, who in Qu. *Maries* dayes had received Impoſition of hands in reformed Churches abroad, is meerly perſonall; neither can challenge my deciſion; Only I give you theſe two anſwers; that what fault ſoever may bee in the eaſie admittance of thoſe, who have received *Romiſh* Orders; the ſticking at the admiſſion of our Brethren returning from Reformed Churches, was not in caſe of Ordination; but of Inſtitution: they had beene acknowledged Miniſters of Chriſt, without any other hands laid upon them, but according to

the Laws of our Land they were not, perhaps, capable of institution to a Benefice, unlesse they were so qualified, as the Statutes of this Realme doe require; And secondly, I know those, more then one, that by vertue only of that Ordination, which they have brought with them from other Reformed Churches, have enjoyed Spirituall Promotions and Livings without any exception against the lawfulnesse of their calling;

The confident affirmation which you alleage of the learned Bishop of *Norwich* is no rule to us; I leave him to his owne defence; You think I have too much work on my hand to give satisfaction for my selfe in these two maine Questions which arise from my Book;

B. *Montague*

What high points shall we now expect, trow we?

First, whether that Office, which by divine right hath sole power of Ordination, and ruling all other Officers of the Church (which hee saith Episcopacie hath) *belong not to the being, but only to the glorie, and perfection of a Church:* Can we tell what these men would have? Have

Have they a minde to goe beyond us in asserting that necessity, and essentiall use of Episcopacy, which we dare not avow? Do they not care to lose their cause, so they may crosse an adversary? For your question, you still talk of sole Ordination, and sole Iurisdiction; You may (if you please) keep that pair of soles for your next shooes: We contend not for such an height of propriety, neither do we practise it; & they are so ours, that they should not be about us, as we have formerly shewed; That therefore there should be a power of lawfull ordination, and government in every setled Church, it is no lesse then necessary, but that in what case soever of extremity, and irresistible necessity, this should be only done by Episcopall hands, we never meant to affirme: it is enough that regularly it should be their act.

Your second question is, *There being* (in this mans thoughts) *the same* jus divinum *for Bishops, that there is for Pastors and Elders, Whether, if those Reformed Churches, wanted Pastors, and Elders too, they should want nothing of the essence of a Church, but of the perfection, and glorie of it*: The answer is ready: If those

thoſe Reformed Churches, wanting thoſe whom you call Paſtors and Elders, did yet injoy the government, by Biſhops, Prieſts, & Deacons, they ſhould be ſo far from wanting ought of the eſſence of a Church, that they ſhould herein attain to much glory and perfection: And ſo much for your deepe queſtions.

The preſumptuous Remonſtrant would ſeeme to know ſo much of the mind of thoſe Churches, that hee ſaith, *if they might have their option, hee doubts not but they would gladly embrace Epiſcopall government*; a foule imputation which your Zeale muſt needs wipe off; for which purpoſe you bring the confeſſions of the *French*, and *Dutch* Churches, averring the truth, and juſtifiablenes of their owne government; For which they have good reaſon, neither ſhall you herein expect my contradiction; nor yet my preſent labour of reconciling their government, and ours in the main and materiall points of both; This condition they are in, and they doe well to defend it, but they did not tell you they would not (if oportunity were offered) be content with a better; I am deceived

deceived if their own publique Conſtitutions be not ſtill concluded with the power of a Change; and I have elſewhere ſhewed out of *Fregevillæus*, that this order of government was in their Churches at firſt only proviſionall; and inſtanced in thoſe teſtimonies of approbation, which their learned Divines have freely given to our forme of adminiſtration; which I ſhall not now ſtand either to repeat, or multiply; Let it be enough for the preſent to ſay; that upon my certain knowledg, many eminent Divines of the Churches abroad have earneſtly wiſhed themſelves in our condition, and have applauded and magnified our Church, as the moſt famous, exemplary and glorious Church in the whole Chriſtian World; So as I wanted not good reaſon, for that which you are pleaſed to ſtyle preſumptuous, aſſertion:

But the reaſon of my aſſertion is yet ſomore offenſive that you wonder how it could fall from my Pen;

That there is little difference in the government of other proteſtant Churches and our owne ſave in the perpetuity of their Moderator-

ship, and the exclusion of Lay Elders; A passage, belike, as you say, of admirable absurdity. But soft, brethren, I am afraid, first, least you speak of what you know not; I speake not onely of the next Churches of *France*, and the *Netherland*, I speake of them in a generality, as one that (if this place would beare it) could give a particular account of them all: neither can your cavills worke my repentance. You tell me of the Moderator in *Geneva* (as if all the Church of God were included in those strait walls) I could tell you of the Superintendents of the Churches of *Germany*, of the *Præpositi* in the Churches of *Wetteraw*, *Hessia*, *Anhalt*, of the *Seniores*, in *Transylvania*, *Polonia*, *Bohemia*; But what of the Moderator in *Geneva*? He is not of a Superiour Order to his Brethren; But let mee tell you, when Master *Calvin* was Moderator there, as hee constantly was for many yeeres no Bishop in *England* swayed more, then he did in that Church: and even in the Low Countries how much the *Deputati Synodi*, after they had been frequently imployed in those services, (as for instance, my ancient and truely-

ly-reverend friend Mr. *Bogermannus* prevailed) & with what authority they carry the affaires of the Church, it is not hard to understand; for those other circumstances, which you are pleased to mention, were the moderatorship perpetual; they would soon accordingly vary; and if not so, yet you may remember, that I said not, no difference at all, but, little, whereof your well affectednes to our Government can make this use, *that then the Abrogation of Episcopacy will be wrought with the lesse difficulty, and occasion the lesse disturbance*; The old word is; welfare a friend in a corner; still you are for the destructive; none but the *Babylonian* note sounds well in your eare, Downe with it, downe with it even to the ground: But the God of Heaven whose cause it is, will, we hope vindicate his owne ordinance, so long perpetuated to his Church, from all your violent and subtile machinations, and prevent the utmost danger of your already sufficiently raysed disturbance.

Sect. XV.

Concerning the Lay Presbytery I said, and say still most justly, that it never had footing in the Church of God till this present age; These wits cry out in great sport, see *How like the man looks to Doctour* Hall, *in his irrefragable Propositions*; Truly, Brethren, as like him, as yee are like your selves: who are still scornfull and insolent: But though ye be commonly spightfull, yet you are so seldome witty, that we may well bear with you, for once: Be he like, whō he will, D. *Hall* will sufficiently defend both those propositions, and this Remonstrance against all your impotent cavils; For this, concerning the questioned Lay-presbytery, you make a faire flourish to little purpose; You do wisely to omit those three knowne texts, which the World knows have beene so throughly canvased and eluded, and that famous text of an acknowledged counterfeit, *Ambrose*, so often exploded; Wee shall have now new stuffe from you, but of as little

little worth; Surely had the foregoing Patrons of your Lay-Elderſhip found that they could have received any colour of protection from theſe places of antiquity, alleaged by you, they had not, after the raking of all the channels of time, forborne the utmoſt urging of theſe your teſtimonies, in their favour and defence; but they well ſaw how little reaſon there was, to preſſe thoſe unproving evidences, which you will needs urge as convictive.

Your teſtimony from *Origen* cannot but ſhame you, if yet you can bluſh; You feared to cite the Chapter that in ſo long a Booke, you might not be diſcovered. *Orig. contra Celſum, c. 14.*

But the ſcope of the place is cleerly thus: *Origen* is upon compariſon of the Philoſophers, and Chriſtians in their care of teaching; *Nam illi* (ſcil. *Philoſophi*) *propalam apud vulgus differentes non ſunt curioſi in diſcernendis auditoribus, &c.* For the Philoſopher, ſaith hee, in their publike diſcourſes to the people are not curious in the difference of their auditors but every one that lifts, comes, and heares them at pleaſure; But the Chriſtians doe, what they may, carefully pre-

examine

examine the minds of those that desire to heare them; and first they doe privately so, to those that are bewitched (with Paganisme) before they bee received into the Congregation? And when they seeme to have comne on so far, as to be desirous to live honestly, then do they bring them in; but in distinct degrees; the one of those which are newly admitted but have not yet attained (the cognizance of their Purification,) Baptisme; the other of those which are now comne on so far as to professe the Christian Religion; in this latter rank are appointed some, which do inquire into the lives and manners of those that come; that they may be a means to keep off such Candidates of Religion as do carry themselves amisse, from their Assemblies: and the rest that are like themselves, they may gladly receive: In which passage it is most evident that *Origen* speaks of those which are newly admitted into the Church, who by reason of their late knowledge and acquaintance with those which they left behind them in Pagan superstition, might bee fit Monitours to know, and

and notifie the condition of ſuch Candidates as did offer to come into the Church; Now theſe truſty Anſwerers would make the World believe, that this is ſpoken of ſome Sage Elders, that were to governe the Church; and (to deceive the Reader) unfaithfully turne the words, *Nonnulli Præpoſiti ſunt*, as if they were ſome ruling Elders indeed; Whereas the word ſignifies, and intends only a deſignation of ſuch Novices as were well approved, to an Office of Monitorſhip concerning thoſe which would profeſſe to be Converts. And now to return your owne words, wee would gladly know whether theſe were not, as it Lay Elders. τεταγμενοι.

As for thoſe other teſtimonies, which you have drawne hither out of *Auguſtine*, *Optatus*; and the Letters of *Fortis*, and *Purpurius* out of *Baronius*; I could, if need were double your files in this kinde, might that doe you any ſervice, I could tell you out of the acts of the Purgation of *Felix* and *Cæcilianus*, of *Epiſcopi*, *Presbyteri*, *Diacones*, *Seniores*; out of *Vide Juſtellū, in notis ad Canon. Afric.* *tan.*

the

the Synodal Epiſtle of the *Cabarſuſitan Councell* (as mentioned by Saint *Auguſtine* in his Enarration upon the Pſalmes) *Neceſſe nos fuerat Primiani cauſam Seniorum literis ejuſdem Eccleſiæ poſtulantibus, audire atque diſcutere*, which is a more pregnant place then any you have brought; & could reckon you up yet more, out of the Code of the *African* Canons, (*Can.*91. Out of *Gregory*, ſubſcribed, as they ſay, *Turonenſis*, who ſpeaking of the Biſhop of *Marſelles* brings him in to ſay, *Nihil per me feci, &c.* I did nothing of my ſelfe, but that which was commanded me *à Dominis noſtris, & Senioribus*; out of *Gregory* the Great in his Epiſtles more then once, I could weary you with ſupply of ſuch authorities; But, brethren, I ſhall ſadly tell you, that you do herein nothing but abuſe your Reader, with a colourable pretence; For all thoſe places you alleage, are nothing at all to the purpoſe in hand. Who can make queſtion but that *Carthage* and *Hippo*, and other *African* Cities, had old and grave men in them? Who can doubt that they had Magiſtrates, and men in authority? Such, as we ſtill are wont out of the ancient appellation, to ſtyle

ſtyle *Aldermen*? Who can doubt that they did in all great occaſions of the Church take the adviſe, and aſſiſtance of theſe prime men? But wil it hence follow that in the ſenſe you contend for, they had a Setled-Lay-Presbytery? Was their Church ere the more (according to your conſtruction) governed by *Paſtors, Elders, Deacons*? That theſe forecited were ſuch, as we have intimated, is moſt evident; In the *African* Canons (*Can.* 100.) they are called (οἱ γερόντες) the old men; And in the 91 Canon, we find as a Commentary upon this point, *Debere unumquemque noſtrum in civitate ſua convenire Donatiſtarum Præpoſitos, aut adjungere ſibi vicinum Collegam, ut pariter eos in ſingulis quibuſque Civitatibus per Magiſtratus, vel Seniores locorum conveniant.* That is, That every one of us ſhould in our own Cities meete with the chiefe Governours of the *Donatiſts*, and take with him ſome neighbour as his Colleague or Aſſiſtant, that they together may give them a meeting by the Magiſtrates or Elders of the places.

But you will ſay, there were thoſe which

were called *Seniores Eccleſiaſtici*; Eccleſiaſticall Elders alſo; True, there were ſuch, *Iuſtellus* confeſſes ſo much, and learned *Iſaacus Caſaubonus* (whoſe manuſcript notes I have ſeene,) and his worthy Son, *Mericus Caſaubonus* in his notes upon *Optatus*, yield no leſſe, but theſe they do truly ſay, were but as our Church-wardens; men that were truſted with the utenſils, ſtock, and outward affaires of the Church; or, as I may more fully compare them, our veſtrymen: who are commonly and of old deſigned under the name of the eight men, or twelve men, in every great pariſh (as I am ſure it is in the Weſtern parts) to order the buſineſſes of Seats, and rates, and ſuch like externall occaſions; now that thoſe places which you have cited intend no other Elders, then theſe, you ſhall be convinced out of your own teſtimonies.

διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ τῶν πρώτων φερόντων ἐν τοῖς ἐυτοις πάγοις συνελθεῖν, *Can. Afr.* 91.

Aug. contra Creſcon. l. 3. Omnes vos Epiſcopi Presbyteri, Diaconi, & Seniores ſcitis, &c.

where againſt your own knowledge you tranſlate *Presbyteri* (Elders) to bleare the Readers eys, with a ſhew of a double ſort of Elders, whereas *Presbyteri* are there manifeſtly diſtinguiſhed from *Seniores*.

The place which you bring out of Saint Auſten *contra Creſconium Grammaticum*; runs thus, *Omnes vos, &c.* All you Biſhops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Elders, do know, &c. where you

you ſee plainly that the Elders which he means are below Deacons, and ſo you ſhall find them, whereſoever they are mentioned; now thoſe that you contend for, are by your own claim, in a key above them. *Optatus* whom you cite, is cleer againſt your ſenſe; whiles he makes only *quatuor genera capitum*; only four ſorts of mẽ in the Church; *Biſhops, Presbyters, Deacons,* & the faithful (*Laity*) And in his firſt book againſt *Parmenian, Quid commemorẽ Laicos, &c.* he reckons up, meer *Laicks, Miniſters, Deacons; Presbyteros ſecundo ſacerdotio conſtitutos*, Presbyters in the ſecond degree of Prieſthood, & *principes omnium Epiſcopos*; and the chiefe of all Biſhops. Shortly, brethren, that there were in the Church of old ruling Elders, which were in a rank above Deacõs, and had together with the Paſtors a ſetled power of government, in the Church, it is an opiniõ no leſſe new, then unjuſtifiable; & I do here ſolemnly profeſſe, that if any one ſuch inſtance can be brought, I wil renoũce Epiſcopacy for ever. Do not thẽ, againſt the light of your owne knowledge ſet a face on proofs of thoſe things, which never were, but give glory to God in yielding to ſo undoubted and cleer a truth.

Sect. XVI. XVII. XVIII.

THe reſt that remaynes is but mere Declamation, not worthy of any anſwer, but contempt and ſilence; It is moſt true that the religious Biſhops of all times have ſtrongly upheld the truth of God againſt Satan and his Antichriſt;

What can you ſay to this? You tell mee of ſome irreligious ones, that have as ſtrongly upheld Satan and his Antichriſt againſt the truth of God; What is this to the calling? Can not I tell you of ſome wicked and irreligious Presbyters, ſhall the function it ſelfe therefore ſuffer? You tell us *What an unpreaching Biſhop once ſaid of a Preacher*; I challenge you to ſhew any unpreaching Biſhop in the Church of *England* this day? It is your ſlander, this, not their juſt Epithete: The ſcandalls of our inferiour Miniſters, I profeſſe I could not but bleed to ſee, but withall deſired to have had them leſſe publique; your Charity accuſeth mee of ex-

excuſing them, and blaming my humble motion of *Conſtantines* example, profeſſe to deſire the blazoning of them to the World. Whether of us ſhall give a better account of our charity to the God of peace, I appeale to that great Tribunall.

In your next Section, like ill-bred ſonnes, you ſpit in the face of your Mother; A Mother too good for ſuch ſonnes, The Church of *England*; and tell us of Papiſts *that dazle the eyes of poore people with the glorious name of the holy Mother the Church*; If they be too fond of their Mother, I am ſure your Mother hath little cauſe to be fond of you; Who can and dare compare her to thoſe *Æthiopian* ſtrumpets, which were common to all commers; For your whole undutifull carriage towards her, take heed of the Ravens of the Valley: As if wee were no leſſe ſtrangers, then you enemies to the Church of *England*, you tell the World *that we know not who ſhe is; and that we wonder when we are askt the queſtion*; and run deſcant upon the two Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Convocation; Even what your luxuriant wit ſhall pleaſe;

and at last you make up your mouth with a merry jest, telling your Reader *that the Remonstrant, out of his simplicitie, never heard, nor thought of any more Churches of* England *then one*; *Ridiculum caput*: Sit you merry, Brethren; but truly, after all your sport, still my simplicity tels mee there is but one Church of *England*; There are many Churches in *England*; but many Churches of *England*, were never till now heard of; You had need fetch it as farre as the *Heptarchie*; And to shew how farre you are from the objected simplicity, yee tell us in the shutting up, *that* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *are all one Church of* England. *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ.*

But now take heed of Obelisks: You professe, *you for your parts doe acknowledge no Antiprelaticall Church*: I am glad to heare it; nor I neither; but I beseech you, if you make and condemne a Prelaticall Church of *England*, what shall be the other part of the Contradiction?

The Remonstrant tels you of further divisions,

viſions, and ſubdiviſions, which upon this ground you muſt neceſſarily make of the Church, your deep wiſdomes take this, as of his upbraiding of the Diviſions in the Church, in meer matter of Opinion, and fly out into the cenſures of the Prelatical! party, as the cauſe thereof; and would have them ſay, *Mitte nos in Mare, & non erit tempeſtas*; The truth is, the ſeveralties of Sects, and their ſeparate Congregations about this City are many and lamentable; I doe not upbraid, but bewayle them; The God of Heaven be judge where the fault reſts, and (if it bee his holy will) finde ſome ſpeedy redreſſe, but in the mean time, one caſts it upon faction, another upon ungrounded rigour, whereſoever it be, *Woe be to thoſe by whom the offence commeth*; Lay you your hands on your hearts onwards, and conſider well whether your fomenting of ſo unjuſt and deep diſlikes of lawfull government have not bin too much guilty of theſe wofull breaches.

As one that love that peace of the Church which

which you are willing to trouble, I perſwading an unity, ask what bounders you ſet, what diſtinction of Profeſſors you make, what grounds of Faith, what new Creed, what different Scriptures, Baptiſme, means of Salvation are held by that part which you miſ-call the Prelaticall Church; You anſwer according to your wonted Charity, and Truth.

What bounds? *Thoſe* (you ſay) *of the ſixth Canon; from the high and loftie Promontorie of Archbiſhops, to the Terra incognita, of an, &c.* Witty again. Alas, brethren, if this be all, the Liſts are too narrow; Here are but four ranks of Dignities, and few in each; but if that incluſive, &c. reach far, yet what will you make of all this?

Doe you exclude Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. from being members of the Church of *England*? Sure, you dare not be ſo ſhamefully unjuſt: If therefore, that they have an intereſt in the Prelacy, cannot exclude them for their intereſt in the Church: What becomes of your bounders? This is fit work for your Obelisk.

What

What distinction? you say, *worshiping to the East, bowing to the Altar, prostituting* (perhaps you meane prostrating) *themselves in their approches into Churches*: And are these fit distinctions, brethren, whereupon to ground different Churches? If they difference men, doe they difference Christians?

What new Creed? you say, *Episcopacie by Divine right is the first article of their Creed.* For shame brethren, did ever man make this an article of faith? who will thinke you worthy to have any faith given you in the rest of your assertions? you adde; *absolute and blinde obedience to all the Commandements of Bishops*; Blush yet againe, bretheren, blush to affirme this, when you well know that the words of the oath of Canonicall obedience run only, *In omnibus licitis & honestis mandatis*, in all lawfull and honest commands.

You adde, Election upon Faith foreseen; What? nothing but grosse untruths? Is this the doctrine of the Bishops of *England*, have they not strongly confuted it in Pa-

piſts, in *Arminians*; Have they not cry'd it downe to the pit of Hell? What means this wickedly falſe ſuggeſtion? Iudge Reader, if here be not work for Obelisks.

What Scripture? You ſay, *Apocrypha, and Traditions unwritten*; Mark I beſeech you, unwritten Traditions are Scriptures, firſt: then *Apocrypha*; And why, I pray you, is it more our *Apocrypha*, then yours? Are all our Bibles *Prelaticall* too? Shortly all thoſe Churches and houſes, and perſons that have the *Apocrypha* in their Bibles belong to the Church Prelaticall, what have wee loſt by the match?

What *Baptiſme*? What *Euchariſt*? You tell us *of the abſolute neceſſitie which ſome Popiſh fools have aſcribed to the one; and of an Altar and Table ſet Altarwiſe in the other*; What are theſe to the Church of *England*? Doth the errour of every addle head? or the ſite or poſture of a Boord make a different Church.

What Chriſt? You anſwer, (near to a blaſphemy;) *A Chriſt who hath given the ſame power of abſolution to a Prieſt that himſelfe hath*

hath: This can be nothing but a ſlanderous fiction; No Chriſtian Divine ever held that a Prieſts power of abſolution was any other then miniſteriall; Chriſts, Soveraigne and abſolute. If you know the man bring him forth that he may be ſtoned.

What Heaven? you *ſay, ſuch as is receptive of Drunkards, Swearers, Adulterers*. Brethren, take heed of an Hel, whiles you fain ſuch an Heaven; and fear leſt your uncharitableneſs will no leſſe bar you out of the true Heaven above, then you bar Prelaticall ſinners from their acceſſe thereinto: But, if you had rather, goe on ſtill in your owne way, ſeparate your ſelves from us that profeſſe we are one with you; Charge upon us thoſe doctrines and opinions which wee hate, no whit leſſe then your ſelves, faſten upon the Church of *England* thoſe exoticall poſitions of unſound teachers, which it ſelf hath in *terminis* condemned; and ſay as you are not aſhamed to do, *We thank God we are none of you*; we forgive you, and pray for your repentance.

Your Quæres, wherein I see you trust much, are made up of nothing but spight and slander: If I answer you with questions shorter then your own, and more charitable, you will excuse me. In answer then to your first, I ask

1 Who ever held the Lordships of Bishops to stand by divine right. If no body, whether hee that intimates it, doth not falsifie and slander? Why is it a greater fault in one of our Doctors to hold the Lords day to stand *Iure humano*, then it was in Master *Calvin*?

2 I ask whether it were any other then K. *James* himself of blessed memory; that said, *No Bishop, no King*, And if it were he, whether that wise King did not mean to prejudice his own authority?

3 Whether since it hath beene proved that Bishops are of more then meerly humane Ordinance, and have so long continued in the Christian Church to the great good of Church, and State, it be not most fit to establish them for ever: and to avoid all dangerous motions of innovation?

4 Whether these answerers have the wit

or grace to understand the true meaning of the *Ius Divinum* of Episcopacie? or if they did, whether they could possibly be so absurd, as to raise so sensless and inconsequent inferences upon it?

Whether there be any question at all in the fifth question? since the Remonstrant himselfe hath so fully cleered this point, professing to hold Episcopacy to be of Apostolicall, and, in that right, Divine Institution? 5

Whether Master *Beza* have not heard soundly of his distinction of the three kinds of Episcopacy, in the full and learned answer of *Saravia*: and whether hee might not have been better advised then in that conceit of his, to crosse all reverend antiquity: And whether the Painter that dresst up his Picture after the fancy of every passenger, do not more fitly resemble those, that frame their discipline according to the humour of their people, varying their projects every day, then those which hold them constantly to the only ancient and Apostolicall forme. 6

Whe-

7 Whether it were not fit that wee alſo ſhould ſpeak as the ancient Fathers did, according to the language of their times; and whether thoſe Fathers could not better underſtand and interpret their owne meaning in the title of Epiſcopacy, then theſe partial, and not over-judicious anſwerers; and whether they have not cleerly explicated themſelves in their writings, to have ſpoken properly and plainly to the ſenſe now enforced.

8 Whether Presbyters can without ſin arrogate unto themſelves the exerciſe of the power of publique Church government, where Biſhops are ſet over them to rule and order the affaires both of them, and the Church; and whether our Saviour when he gave to *Peter* the promiſe of the Keyes, did therein intend to give it (in reſpect of the power of publike juriſdiction) to any other ſave the Apoſtles, and their Succeſſours the Biſhops; and whether ever any Father, or Doctour of the Church till this preſent age, held that Presbyters were the Succeſſours to the Apoſtles, and not to the ſeventy Diſciples rather.

Whe-

Whether ever any Biſhops aſſumed to themſelves power Temporall to be Barons, and to ſit in Parliament, as Iudges, and in Court of Star-chamber, &c. or whether they be not called by his Majeſties writ, and royall authority to theſe ſervices; And whether the ſpirituall power which they exerciſe, in ordaining, ſilencing, &c. be any other then was by the Apoſtles delegated to the firſt Biſhops of the Church, and conſtantly exerciſed by their holy ſucceſſors in all ages, eſpecially by *Cyprian*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, and the reſt of that ſacred order; men which had as little to do with Antichriſt, as our anſwerers have with charity. 9

Whether the anſweters have not juſt cauſe to be aſhamed of patronizing a noted Heretick, *Aerius* in that for which hee was cenſured of the ancient Saints, and Fathers of the Church; & whether the whole Church of Chriſt ever ſince his time till this age have not abandoned thoſe very errours concerning the equality of Biſhops and Presbyters, which they now preſume to maintain. 10

Whe-

11 Whether the great Apoſtacy of the Church of *Rome* do, or did conſiſt in maintayning the order of government ſet by the Apoſtles themſelves; and whether all the Churches in the whole Chriſtian World (even thoſe that are profeſſedly oppoſite to the Church of *Rome*) doe let in Antichriſt by the doore of their Diſcipline, ſince they all mayntain Epiſcopacy no leſſe conſtantly then *Rome* it ſelfe;

12 Whether if Epiſcopacy be (through the munificence of good Princes) honoured with a title of dignity, and largneſſe of revenues, it ought to be, ere the more declined; and whether themſelves, if they did not hope to carry ſome ſway in the Presbytery, would be ſo eager in crying up that government; and whether if there were not a maintenance annexed, they would not hide themſelves, and jeopard their eares rather then mancipate themſelves to the charge of ſouls.

13 Whether there bee no other apparent cauſes to be given for the increaſe of Popery and ſuperſtition in ~~in~~ the Kingdom, beſides Epiſco-

Episcopacie (which hath laboured strongly to oppose it) and whether the multitudes of Sects, and professed slovenlynesse in Gods service, (in too many) have not bin guilty of the increase of profaneness amongst us.

Why should *England* one of the most famous Churches of Christendome, separate it selfe from that forme of government, which all Churches through the whole Christian World have ever observed, and do constantly and uniformely observe and maintain; and why should not rather other lesse noble Churches conforme to that universall government which all other Christians besides do gladly submit unto. 14

Why should the name of Bishops, which hath beene for this 1600. yeeres appropriated (in a plaine contradistinction) to the governours of the Church, come now to be communicated to Presbyters, which never did all this while so much as pretend to it; and if in ancient times they should have done it could not have escaped a most severe censure. And shortly whether if we will 15

allow you to bee Biſhops all will not bee well.

16 Whether ſince both God hath ſet ſuch a government in his Church, as Epiſcopacie, and the Lawes of this Land have firmly eſtabliſhed it, it can bee lawfull for you to deny your ſubjection unto it; and whether it were not moſt lawfull and juſt to puniſh your preſumption and diſobedience in framing ſo factious a queſtion?

And thus I hope you have a ſufficient anſwere to your bold and unjuſt demands, and to thoſe vain cavills which you have raiſed againſt the humble Remonſtrance.

God give you Wiſdome to ſee the Truth, and Grace to follow it, Amen.

To the Poſtſcript.

THe beſt beauty that you could have added to your diſcourſe, brethren, had beene honeſty and truth both in your allegations of Teſtimonies, and inferences of argumentation; In both which I muſt needs ſay (and I ſpeake it in the preſence of God to whom I muſt ſhortly give an account) that I never ſaw any Writer that would dare to profeſs Chriſtian ſyncerity, ſo fouly to overlaſh; as if yee made no conſcience by what means you uphold a ſide, or win a proſelyte; God touch your hearts with a true ſence of that whereof you cannot be but in this diſcourſe convinced.

Now you thinke to garniſh your worke with a goodly *Paſquin* borrowed (for a great part) out of *Sion's Plea*; and the Breviate conſiſting of a rhapſodye of Hiſtories, *concerning the pride, inſolence, trechery, crueltie, and all other the deadlie ſins of popiſh prelates, but eſpecially of thoſe, who ſwayed the See of* Canterbury, *in thoſe days of darkeneſſe and Ro-*

miſh Tyrannie. Whereto I ſuppoſe you expect no anſwere as being a thing utterly unconcerning us; and that, whereof I might ſay (ſetting aſide the ill intention of an application) as *Huntingdonienſis* ſaid of the Cardinals adultery, *Celari non potuit, negari non debuit*. But tell me brethren what can be your drift in this your tedious relatiõ? Is there any man that offers to undertake their patrocination? or is it any advantage to you to make their memory yet more odious? Let them have beene as foule as ill will can make them; Let them have been in their times Devills incarnate; what is that to us? *They were Biſhops you ſay*. True, but they were Popiſh Biſhops; limmes of that body, whoſe head we abjure; the fault of their wickednesſe was in the Popery, not in the Epiſcopacie, in the men, not the calling, why ſhould you think to choake us with theſe hatefull inſtances: If I ſhould go about to rake together all the inſolences, murthers, inceſts, treaſons, and villanies, that have been done by Popiſh Presbyters in the time of that lawleſſe ignorance, & ſuperſtition, would you think theſe could

could be any blemish to you? why will you then bee so miserably uncharitable, as to cast upon us the crimes of those whom we equally condemne; and to scoffe their faults upon their chaires? what one profession is there in all mankind, which if wee should go about to ransack, would not yield some persons extreamly vicious, shall the vocation be condemned, for the crimes of the men? At last to make up the mouth of your admirable charity, *You tell us of the gracious practices of the Prelates from the beginning of Queene* Elizabets *Raigne to this present day; whose great designe you say, still hath been to hinder reformation, to further Poperie and Arminianisme, to beat down preaching, to persecute zealous Professors, and some such other noble projects of Episcopall pietie*: Tell me Brethren, as you will answer it before the just Iudge of all the World; Have these bin the main designes of Bishops; Are they all guilty of these wofull enormities, or are they not? If yee say they are, the world will cry shame on your falshood; If they are not, the World will cry no lesse

ſhame on your injuſtice, in taxing all for the fault of ſome: What? are theſe the onely remarkable works that your eyes could diſcover to fall from the hands of Biſhops? could you ſee no Colledges, no Hoſpitalls built? no Churches re-edified? no learned Volumes written, no hereſies confuted, no ſeduced perſons reclaimed? no hoſpitality kept? no great offenders puniſhed? no diſorders corrected? no good offices done for the publique? no care of the peace of the Church? No diligence in preaching? No holineſſe in living? Truly, brethren, I can ſay no more, but that the fault is in your eys, and not in your object: Wipe them, and look better; Yea, I beſeech God to open them rather, that they may ſee good, as well, as evill;

As for that baſe and ſcurrilous Proverb, to which you ſay it is now comne (whereas the World knows it is elder then your Grandfires, and was taken up, in the popiſh times) it were more fit for a *Scurra in trivio*, or ſome Rivald upon an Ale-bench, then for graye Divines.

How

How easie were it for me to reckon up an hundred of such spightful Adages which vulgar envy hath been wont to cast upon the rest of the Clergy, worthy of nothing but scorn? and so had this bin, if your wit and charity had not bin alike; But surely, Brethren, if whatsoever is spoiled, they say, *The Bishops foot hath been in it*; I doubt not but they will say, *The Bishops foot hath been in your Book*, for I am sure it is quite spoiled by this just confutation. After your own pottage (for your Proverb; *sapit ollam*) you tell us of *Boner's broath*; I should have too much wondred at this conclusion, but that I hear it is the fashion in some Countries, to send in their Keal in the last service; and this, it seems, is the manner amongst our *Smectymnuans*.

Well; to shut up all, let them of their *Boners beef and broath*, make what Breweſſe they please for their credulous guests: Learned and worthy Doctor *Moulin* shall tell them, that the restauration of the *English* Church, and eversion of Popery next under God, and our Kings is chiefly to be ascribed, and

P. Moulin. Epist. 3. ad Episcop. Winton. &c.

and owed to the learning and industry of our *Bishops*; some whereof being crowned with *Martyrdome*, subscribed the *Gospell* with their *blood*; Thus he; Neither doubt I but that many of them (if occasion were offered) would be ready to imitate them in those red Characters.

In the mean time I beseech the God of Heaven to humble you in the sight and sense of your own grievous uncharitablenesse, and to put (at last) into your hearts and tongues, the Counsels of Peace.

AMEN.

Sept: 24 94.

These Faults comitted by the Printers neglect (and some words left out which marre the sence) I pray amend.

Read

Invectiues p. 33 l. 12. see how p. 24 l. 14. so wrong p. 37 l. 6. Succession p. 39 l. 17. repealed p. 46 l. 4. themselues p. 52 l. 6. challenges p. 65 l. 11. *dest* this p. 131 l. 21. without P. 135 l. 11. differences p. 141 l. 20. who are p. 170 l. 5. *dest* dayes p. 173 l. 11. Contradistinction p. 150 l. *penult.* *dest* were p. 143. l. 16 fare p. 174 l. 27. Ribald p. 166 *penult.*

THE DETERMINATION OF THE QVESTION, Concerning the *Divine Right* of *Episcopacie*.

By the famous and learned Divine Dr. *Abrahamus Scultetus*, late Professour of Divinity in the University of *Heidelberg*.

Faithfully translated out of his Observations upon the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*.

LONDON,
Printed for NATHANIEL BUTTER. 1641.

An Advertiſement to the Reader.

KNow Reader, that whereas in one of thoſe many angry Pamphlets, wch have beene lately publiſhed, there is an intimation given of ſome diſgracefull language, that fell from Dr. *Voetius*, the learned profeſſor of *Vtrecht*, concerning the perſon of Dr. *Hall* B. of *Exeter*; there hath bin ſerious inquiſition made into the truth of that report; and that the ſaid Dr. *Voetius* diſavowes (to the party that inquired of it) any ſuch words of vnder-valuation, by him ſpoken, as is teſtified under the hand of Sir *William Boſwell* Knight, his Majeſties Lieger with the States: And, if, upon the ſight of a diſpleaſing title of a Booke (contrary to his owne judgement) any learned Divine, ſhould have

passed a censure upon the worke; there was small reason for the reporters to reflect upon the person of the author: Yea, I am confident, that many of our worthy brethren at home, were differently minded concerning this Tenet of the right of *Episcopacy*, if they would be pleased to informe themselves thoroughly of the state of the question, as it is defended by the Author of that treatise, would find small cause of scruple in this opinion. For whereas there are three Degrees of truthes, and holy institutions (as they are commonly distinguished) *Humane*, *Apostolicq*, *Divine*; The first from mere men; The second from men Apostolicall; The third from God himselfe immediately; The Author desires to goe a Mid-way in this difference; holding it too low to derive *Episcopacy* from a merely humane, and Ecclesiasticall Ordinance; holding it too high to deduce it from an immediate command from God; and therefore pitching upon an Apostolicall institution; rests there: but because those Apostles were divinely inspired, and had the directions of Gods spirit

ſpirit for thoſe things which they did for the common adminiſtration of the Church, therefore, and in that only name is *Epiſcopacy* ſaid to lay claime to a Divine right; howſoever alſo it cannot be gainſaid that the grounds were formerly layd by our Saviour in a knowne imparity of his firſt agents; Now ſurely this truth hath ſo little reaſon to diſtaſt them, that, even learned *Chamier* himſelfe can ſay; *Res ipſa cœpit tempore Apoſtolorum, vel potius ab ipſis profecta eſt.* And why ſhould that ſeeme harſh in us, which ſoundeth well in the mouthes of leſſe-intereſſed Divines? But becauſe the very title of that Booke hath raiſed more duſt then the Treatiſe it ſelfe; Be pleaſed, Readers, to ſee, that this very queſtion is in the very ſame termes determined by that eminent light of the *Palatinate*; Dr. *Abrah. Scultetus*; whoſe tract to this purpoſe I have thought fit to annexe.

Peruſe it, and judge whether of thoſe two writers have gone further in this determination; And if you ſhall not meet with convincing reaſons to bring you

home to this opinion; yet, at least-wise find cause enough to retaine a charitable, and favourable conceit of those, who are (as they thinke, upon good grounds) otherwise minded; and whilest it is on all parts agreed by wise and unprejudiced Christians, that the calling is thus ancient and sacred; let it not violate the peace of the Church to scan the originall, whether Ecclesiasticall, Apostolicall, or Divine. Shortly, let all good men humbly submit to the Ordinance, and heartily wish the Reformation of any abuses.

And so many as are of this mind, Peace be upon them, and the whole Israel of God.
Amen.

The

The Question,

whether Episcopacie bee of Divine right? *That is, whether the Apostles ordained this Government of the Church, that not onely one should bee placed over the people, but over Presbyters and Deacons, who should have the power of Imposition of Hands, or Ordination, and the direction of Ecclesiasticall Counsels.*



His was anciently denyed by *Aerius*, as is related by *Epiphanius*, in his 75 Heresie, and by *Iohn* of *Hierusalem*; as appeares by *Hierome*, in his Epistle to PAMMACHIVS. And there are not wanting in these dayes many learned and pious men, who, although they acknowledge *Aerius* to have erred, in that hee should disallow of that manner of Ecclesiasticall

call government, which had beene received by the whole world; yet in this they agree with him, that Episcopall government is not of Divine Right. From whose opinion why I should sever my judgement, I am moved by these strong reasons, famous examples, and evident authorities.

My judgement is this;

First, in the *Apostles* Epistles the name of *Bishop* did never signifie any thing different from the office of a *Presbyter*. For a *Bishop*, *Presbyter*, and an *Apostle*, were common names, as you may see *Acts* 20. *Phil.* 1. *v.* 1. *Tit.* 1. 1. *Pet. v.* 12. *Acts* 1. 20.

Next. In the chiefe Apostolicall Church, the Church was governed by the common advice of *Presbyters*; and that for some yeares in the time of the preaching of the *Apostles*. For first of all, companies must be gathered together, before we can define any thing concerning their perpetuall government.

Then, the *Apostles*, as long as they were present or neere their churches, did not place any *Bishop* over them, properly so called, but onely *Presbyters*, reserving Episcopall authority to themselves alone.

Lastly, after the Gospell was farre and neere propagated, and that out of equality of *Presbyters*, by the instinct of the Devill, *Schismes* were made in Religion, then the *Apostles* (especially in the

the more remote places) placed some over the *Pastors*, or *Presbyters*, which shortly after, by the *Disciples* of the *Apostles Ignatius*, and others, were onely called *Bishops*, and by this appellation, they were distinguished from Presbyters and Deacons.

Reasons moving me to this opinion? First, *Hierome* upon the 1. chapter of the Epistle to *Titus*, writeth, *that a Presbyter is the same with a Bishop, and before that, by the instinct of the Devill, factions were made in Religion, and it was said among the people, I am of Paul, I of Apollo, but I of Cephas, the churches were governed by the common counsell of Presbyters: afterwards it was decreed in the whole Word, that one chosen out of the Presbyters, should be placed over the rest,*

From whence I thus argue.

When it began to be said among the people, I am of Paul, *I of* Apollo, *but I of* Cephas, *then one chosen out of the Presbyters,* was placed over the rest.

But whiles the Apostles lived, it was so said among the people. As the first Epistle to the Corinthians, besides other of St. Pauls Epistles, puts it out of doubt. *Therefore, while the Apostles lived, one chosen out of the Presbyters was placed over the rest.*

Again, There can be no other terme assigned, in which *Bishops* were first made, then the time of the *Apostles*; for all the prime successors of

 the

the *Apostles* were *Bishops*: witnesse the successions of Bishops in the most famous churches of *Hierusalem*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Rome*, as it is in *Eusebius*, therefore, either the next successors of the Apostles, changed the force of Ecclesiasticall government, received from the Apostles, according to their owne pleasure, which is very unlikely, or the Episcopall government came from the Apostles themselves.

Besides, even then in the time of the Apostles, there were many Presbyters, but one Bishop, even then in the time of the Apostles, ὁ προεστώς, he that was placed over the rest, which afterwards was called Bishop, did impose hands, or ordaine Ministers of the Word, which *Presbyters* alone did not presume to doe. Even then, therefore, the calling of Bishops was distinct from the Office of Presbyters.

If any desire the examples of *Apostolicall* Bishops, the books of the antient are full of Episcopall authority, of *Timothy*, and *Titus*, either of which, howsoever, first performed the office of an *Evangelist*, yet notwithstanding, ceased to bee an *Evangelist*, after that *Timothy* was placed over the Church of *Ephesus*, and *Titus* over the church of *Crete*; For *Evangelists* did onely lay the foundations of Faith in forraigne places, and then did commend the rest of the care to certaine Pastors, but they themselves went to other Countries, and Nations, as *Eusebius* writes in his 3d. booke of Ecclesiasticall History, and 34. chap. But *Paul* taught sometimes in *Ephesus* and *Crete*

and

and laid the foundations of Faith there; therefore he commandeth *Timothy* to stay at *Ephesus*, & *Titus* at *Crete*, not as *Evangelists* but as governors of the Churches.

And indeed, the Epistles, written to either of them, doe evince the same; For in these, he doth not prescribe the manner of gathering together a church, which was the duty of an *Evangelist*, but the manner of governing a church, being already gathered togither, which is the duty of a Bishop and all the precepts in those Epistles, are so conformable hereunto, as that they are not refer'd, in especiall to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, but in generall to all Bishops, and therefore in no wise, they suit with the temporary power of *Evangelists*.

Besides, that *Timothy*, and *Titus*, had Episcopall jurisdiction, not onely *Eusebius*, *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Ambrosius*, *Hierome*, *Epiphanius*, *Oecumenius*, *Primasius*, *Theophylact*, but also the most antient writers, of any that write the History of the new Testament, whose writings are now lost, doe sufficiently declare. *Eusebius* without doubt appealing unto those, in his 3. book of Ecclesiasticall History and 4. chapter, *Timothy* (saith he) in Histories is written to be the 1. which was made Bishop of the church of Ephesus, as Titus was the first, that was made Bishop of the church of *Crete*.

But if John the Apostle, and not any antient disciple of the *Apostles*, be the author of the Revelation, hee suggests unto us, those seven new Examples of Apostolicall Bish: ps:

For all the most learned Interpreters interpret the seven Angels of the Churches, to be the seven Bishops of the Churches; neither can they doe otherwise, unlesse they should offer violence to the text.

What should I speake of *James* not the *Apostle*, but the brother of our *Saviour*, the sonne in law, of the Mother of our Lord: who by the *Apostles*, was ordained *Bishop* of *Hierusalem*, as *Eusebius*, in his 2d book of Ecclesiasticall History, and 1 chap. out of the 6. of the *Hypotyposes* of *Clement*, *Hierome* concerning Ecclesiasticall writers, out of the 1. of the Comments of *Egesippus*, relate, *Ambrose* upon the 1 chap. unto the *Galatians*, *Chrysostome* in his 23. Homily upon the 15. of the *Acts*, *Augustine* in his 2d book and 37 chap. against *Cresconius*, *Epiphanius* in his 65. Heresie, The 6 Synod in *Trullo*, and 32. canon, all assenting thereunto. For indeed, this is that *James* that had his fixt residence at *Hierusalem*, as an ordinary Bishop, whom *Paul* in his first, and last comming to *Hierusalem*, found in the city; almost all the Apostles, preaching in other places, Gal. 1. 19. & that concluded those things, which were decreed in the assembly of the Apostles, *Acts* 21. For he was with *Chrysostome*, Bishop of the Church of *Hierusalem*, from whom when certaine came, *Peter* would not eate with the Gentiles, Galat. 2. 12.

From examples, I passe to authorities, which

Ignati-

Ignatius confirmes by his owne authorite, Whose Axiomes are these.

The Bishop is he, which is superiour in all chiefety, and power. The Presbytery, is a holy company of counsellours, and assessours to the Bishop. The Deacons are the imitators of angelical vertues, which shew forth their pure, & unblameable ministry. He which doth not obey these, is without God, impure, and contemnes Christ, & derogates from his order, and constitution, in his Epistle to the Tralliens.

In another place, *I exhort that yee study to doe all things with concord. The Bishop being president in the place of God. The Presbyters, in place of the Apostolick Senate, the Deacons, as those to whom was committed the ministry of Iesus Christ* in his Epistle to the *Magnesians.*

And againe. Let the Presbyters be subject to the Bishop, the Deacons to the Presbyters, the people to the Presbyters and Deacons, in his Epistle those of Tarsus.

But *Ignatius* was the Disciple of the *Apostles*, from whence then had he this *Hierarchy* but from the *Apostles*?

Let us now heare *Epiphanius* in his 75. Heresie. *The Apostles could not presently appoint all things: Presbyters and Deacons were necessary; for by these two Ecclesiasticall affaires might bee dispatcht. Where there was not found any fit for the Episcopacy, that place remained without a Bishop,*

but where there was need, and there were any fit for Episcopacy, they were made Bishops. All things were not compleat from the beginning, but in tract of time all things were provided which were required for the perfection of those things which were necessary, the Church by this meanes receiving the fulnesse of dispensation.

But *Eusebius* comes neerer to the matter, and more strongly handles the cause, who in his third booke of Ecclesiasticall History, and 22. chapter, as also in his Chronicle affirmeth, *that Erodius was ordained the* 1. *Bishop of Antioch*, in the yeare of our Lord 45. in the 3. yeare of *Claudius* the *Emperor*: at which time, many of the *Apostles* were alive. Now *Hierome* writeth to *Evagrius, that at Alexandria, from Marke the Evangelist, unto Heraclas and Dionisius the Bishop, the Presbyters called one, chosen out of themselves, & placed in a higher Degree, the Bishop.* But *Marke* dyed, as *Eusebius*, and *Bucholcerus* testifie, in the yeare of our Lord, 64. PETER, PAVL, and JOHN the *Apostles*, being then alive: therefore, it is cleare, that *Episcopacy* was instituted in the time of the *Apostles*, and good *Hierome* suffered some frailty, when he wrote, that *Bishops were greater then Presbyters, rather by the custome of the Church, then the truth of the Lords disposing*; unlesse perhaps, by the custome of the Church, he understands the custome of the *Apostles*, and by the truth of the Lords disposing, he understands the appointment of *Christ*, yet not so, he satisfies the truth of History.

ſtory. For it appeares out of the firſt, ſecond, and 3. chapters of the *Revelation*, that the forme of governing the *Church* by *Angels* or *Biſhops*, was not onely ratified, and eſtabliſhed, in the time of the Apoſtles, but it was confirmed by the very Son of God. And *Ignatius* called that forme, the order of *Chriſt*.

And when *Hierome* writes, *that it was decreed in the whole world, that one choſen out of the Presbyters ſhould be placed over the reſt.* And when I have demonſtrated, that in the life-time of the *Apoſtles*, *Biſhops* were ſuperior to *Presbyters* in Ordination: and that each *Church* had one placed over it, doe we not without cauſe demand; Where, when, and, by whom Epiſcopacy was ordained? Epiſcopacy therefore is of divine right. Which, how the Prelates of the church of *Rome*, for almoſt 300. yeares, did adorne with the truth of Doctrine, innocency of life, conſtancy in afflictions, and ſuffering death it ſelfe for the honour of *Chriſt*; and on the other ſide, how in ſucceeding times, firſt by their ambition, next by their exceſſive pragmaticall covetouſneſſe, ſcraping up to themſelves the goods of this world, then by their hereſie, laſt of all by their tyranny they corrupted it, that the *Romain Hierarchy*, at this day, hath nothing elſe left but a vizard of the *Apoſtolicall Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchy*, and the lively Image of the whore of *Babylon*, our Hiſtories both antient and moderne, doe abundantly teſtifie.

Where

Wherefore all *Bishops* are warned from hence, that they throughly weigh with themselves the nature of *Apostolicall Episcopacy*, of which they glory that they are the successors.

That *Episcopacy* had two things peculiar to it, the priviledge of succeeding, and the Prerogative of ordaining: all other things were common to them with the Presbyters: Therefore both Bishops and Presbyters, should so exercise themselves in godlinesse, should so free themselves from contempt by their conversation, and so make themselves examples to their flocke; not neglecting especially the gift of prophecying, received from above, but being wholly intent, to reading, consolation, and teaching; to meditate on these things, to be wholly conversant in them; and so perpetually imployed in this holy function, and divine affaires, with this promise, that if they shall doe these things, they shall both save themselves, and their Auditors, but if after the custome of some great ones, they follow the pride and luxury of this world, they shall both destroy themselves, and them that heare them.

FINIS. Sept: 24. 94

THE JUDGMENT OF The Learned Divine, D. *Abrahamus Scultetus* prime Professor of Divinity at *Heidelberg*.

Concerning
LAY-ELDERS.

OBSERVATIONS Upon 1 *Timothy*, by *Abraham Scultetus*. Chap. 27.

Concerning 1. *Tim.* 5. 17.



Here are some that thinke this place of Scripture is of force enough to make good a Lay-Presbytery; for their eyes and judgements are dazeled with that distinction of Elders, which they suppose, to be clearly intimated here by St. *Paul*: But, if they shall have diligently scanned the

place,and compared it with other Texts of Scripture,they ſhall ſoon find that the defence of Lay-Elders out of this place,is both contrary to the ſignification of the Word (πρεσβυτῶτις) *i. e.* thoſe that rule, and contrary to the ſignification of the Word *Presbyter*;and that it is quite againſt St. *Pauls* perpetuall Doctrine,and it is againſt the judgement of all the Fathers,that have expounded this Speech of St. *Paul.*

It is contrary to the ſignification of the Word (πρεσβυτῶτις for (πρεσβυτία) or Eccleſiaſticall rule or government is an honour wherewith onely Miniſters of Gods Word are inveſted in the new Teſtament,and not any Lay Perſons: Wee beſeech you brethren,ſaith the *Apoſtle*,1 *Theſ. v.* 12. *That you know thoſe that labour amongſt you,and are over you in the Lord,and that admoniſh you, and to eſteeme them very highly in love for their workes ſake: upon which words,ſaith* Calvin,*it is worthy to be obſerved; what titles he gives to Paſtors.* Firſt he ſaith,they labor, and then he ſets them forth,by the name of rule, or governance. And *Beza* upon the place: it appeares from hence,*that the Church was governed by Paſtors in common, and that the degree of a Biſhop was not thought of,and therefore* (προεστασθαι) *to rule,is the ſame with* (ἡγεῖσθαι) with *to lead, becauſe the ſhepheards are wont to go before their flock.* But the Apoſtle *Hebr.*13.7.and 17. *call's the Miniſters of the Word Leaders.* Therefore,according to *Beza*,we muſt acknowledge thoſethat are over the people, are the Miniſters of the word: neither doth *Juſtin Martyr*

in

in his Apology to Antonius call the (πρεσβύτερα) any other then the Paſtor and teacher of the Congregation.

Moreover, the defence of *Lay-Elders* out of this preſent text of *St. Paul*, is contrary to the ſignification of the word *Presbyter*, which when it is uſed, cõcerning the politye of the new Teſtament, doth alwayes ſignifie the Miniſters of the word: *Act.* 11. 30. They ſent their collection to the *Elders* by the hands of *Barnabas*, and *Saul*, that is to the Miniſters, of whom it is ſaid. *Act* 14. 23. χειροτονήσαντες δὲ They ordained them Elders in every Church: And *Act.* 15. 2. A maine queſtion of faith is propounded to the *Apoſtles*, and *Elders* of *Hieruſalem*; but what? to be decided by *Lay-men*? For the *Elders* met with the *Apoſtles* to conſider of this matter, *Act.* 15. 6.

And the *Presbyters* are joyned together with the *Apoſtles Verſe.* 22. and are diſtinguiſhed from the whole Church, as alſo *v.* 23, and *chap.* 16. 4. Againe in the 20. of the *Acts*, the Elders of *Epheſus ver.* 17. are ſaid to be made *Biſhops* to feed the flocke of *Chriſt*, *ver.* 18. And in *Acts* 21, 18. and the verſes following, the *Presbyters*, or *Elders* of *Jeruſalem* inſtruct the *Apoſtle Paul* what he is to doe; and therefore were no *Lay-men*. In this very Chapter, when *Timothy* is commanded to receive no accuſation againſt an *Elder*, the *Elder* there is a teacher, as ſhall be ſhowed in the next chapter. *Tit.* 1. 5. that thou maiſt ordaine *Elders* in every city; what kind of Elders? Surely, teachers; for he adds, if

any be blameleſſe, &c. for a *Biſhop* muſt be unreproveable, &c.

And *James* 5. 14. The ſicke are bidden to ſend for the *Elders* of the Church, that they may pray over, and anoint the ſicke with oyle in the name of the Lord, which is no *Lay-mans* duty: 1 *Pet.* 5 1. The *Elders* I exhort who am alſo a fellow-*Elder*, feed the flock; How is he a fellow-*Elder*, but becauſe he is a teacher as they?

And they are charged to feed the flock, therefore Paſtors, 2 *Ioh.* 1, & 3. *Ioh.* 1. *Iohn* the *Apoſtle* without all queſtion is called an *Elder*. *Ignatius* makes often mention of *Elders*, or *Presbyters* in his Epiſtles, but never of *Lay-Elders*. And in his Epiſtle to thoſe of *Tarſus* deſcribing the Eccleſiaſticall *Hierarchie* of his time, he ſaith (ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τύπος) Let the *Presbyters* be ſubject to the *Biſhops*, and the *Deacons* to the *Presbyters*, and the *Lay-men* to both *Deacons*, and *Presbyters*: And, to the *Magneſians*; As the Lord ſaith he, doth nothing without the Father: ſo neither doe you without your *Biſhop*, neither *Presbyter*, nor *Deacon*, nor *Laick*. Where obſerve that the very *Deacons* did not ſit in the *Presbytery Apoſtoliq*; much leſſe *Lay-men*.

Thirdly, the defence of Lay-Elders out of the 17. *verſ.* of *Ch.* 5. of the 1. *Tim.* is againſt the perpetuall doctrine of St. *Paul*: for to give honour to the Presbyters, or Elders, is to honour them with maintenance, out of the publique ſtock of the Church; for ſo the *Apoſtle*, before, commands thoſe that are indeed Widowes to be honoured, that

that is to be designed to publique attendances, and allowances; And the reason which the *Apostle* gives, confirmes this explication of the honour required; When he saith thou shalt not muzzle the Oxe that treadeth out the corne: And in *Matthew* the honor of Parents is chiefly to be taken of meate and maintenance, which signification is very familiar and proper to the word (*Kabud*) used in the fifth commandement, and so the word is expounded by *Marke* 7. 12. But maintenance, out of the stock of the Church, the *Apostle* would not have to be given even to such poore Widowes, as could be otherwise provided for; as before *vers.* 16. And he himselfe laboured with his owne hands, that he might not be burdensome to others, much lesse would he have the chiefe of the Laity, who abound with wealth to be maintained of the common store; and that more liberally then others: For, if by those that rule well, you shall understand both Lay-Elders and sacred also, you must needes conclude, that they are all worthy of double honour, both those which rule, and those which labour in Doctrine: which conclusion the *Apostle* is against else-where; whilest hee saith, those which serve at the altar, must partake of the altar. And the Lord himselfe, who hath appointed that those which preach the Gospell should live of the Gospell, 1 *Corinthians* 9. 13. 14. Whereupon *Hierome* in the same place; He would, saith hee, have them to yeeld carnall things to those

of whom they receive ſpiritual things, becauſe they being taken up in teaching, cannot provide neceſſary things for themſelves. Yea, I ſay yet more, if St. *Paul* had, by thoſe that rule, underſtood *Lay-Elders*, certainly he would ſome-where have put them in mind of their duty, or, at leaſt have made mention them, 1 Tim. 3. where hee doth not omit to give charge even of Deacons, and Deaconeſſes: But he doth neither of the two, but preſently after the mention of Biſhops, or Presbyters that were Paſtors, he falls into the ſpeech concerning Deacons, and their wives; ſo as it is a plaine proofe that *Lay-Elders* were utterly unknowne to him.

Fourthly, the defence of *Lay-Elders* out of this place is utterly againſt the judgment of the fathers, ſo many as ever have expounded this text of the Apoſtle: Neither indeed is there any neceſſity at all, that becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith, thoſe eſpecially that labour in Word and Doctrine, therefore we ſhould deviſe new *Elders* to bee taken out of the common people: For it was well knowne, that thoſe of the *Clergie*, which are over the Lords flocke, have their diſtinct Offices, and employments. There are of them, which adminiſter Sacraments, make publique prayers, privately admoniſh faithfull people, and with-hold them from ſinning; there are others, which being indued with excellent gifts of ſpeaking, imploy themſelves in being teachers and guids to mens ſoules in the way to heaven, and the labors of theſe men, which are taken by them, in word and doctrine

Doctrine, are justly preferred before the service of them, which administer the Sacraments, and make prayers for the Church; even by the Testimony of the *Apostle* himselfe, who saith; *Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospell*, 1 Cor. 1. 17. *He was sent for both purposes*, but the chiefe end of his mission, was, the preaching of the Gospell.

Whosoever therefore, thus rule the people, whether they doe administer the Sacrament, or onely preach the word, or whether they doe both, are worthy of double honour; where a certaine number is put for an uncertaine, double honour, that is greater and more then others; Although some are of opinion, that here by Apostoliq; authority there is a greater portion assigned to the Governours, then to others that appertaine to the Church, others interpret it of that double honour which is fit for governours to have; one, of an awfull reverence and command, the other of more largenesse of maintenance; that they be, both, observed, and respected above others, and, that they have a more liberall provision of necessaries for their livelyhood; But the first of them is the more simple exposition of the words. He therefore, holds those, that are set over the people worthy of double honour; And why double? A little before he had given them order about the honoring, that is maintaining of their Widowes, at the charge of the Church: From the Widowes, he passeth to the *Elders*, or *Presbyters*; whom, if they rule well, he would have honoured with a double allowance,

that

that is greater then that of the Widowes, both by reason of their office, and by reason of their family; and amongst those that rule, yet againe, hee would have those most regarded, who are imployed not so much in administring the Sacraments, as in preaching the Word. I doubt not but this is the most true explication of this place.

Sept: 24. 94

FINIS.

Of Lay Elders. p. 147.

ANIMADVERSIONS
UPON
The Remonstrants
Defence
AGAINST
SMECTYMNVVS.



LONDON,
Printed for [illegible], and are
to be sold at the Signe of the *Bible* in
Woodstreet, 1641.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ANIMADVERSIONS
Vpon the *Remonſtrants* Defence, againſt SMECTYMNVVS.

The Preface.

Although it be a certaine truth that they who undertake a Religious Cauſe need not care to be Men-pleaſers; yet becauſe the ſatisfaction of tender and mild conſciences is far different from that which is call'd Men-pleaſing, to ſatisfie ſuch, I ſhall adreſſe my ſelfe in few words to give notice before hand of ſomething in this booke, which to ſome men perhaps may ſeeme offenſive, that when I have render'd a lawfull reaſon of what is done, I may truſt to have ſav'd the labour of defending or excuſing hereafter. Wee all know that in private and perſonall injuries, yea in publique ſufferings for the cauſe of Chriſt, his rule and example teaches us to be ſo farre from a readineſſe to ſpeak evill, as not to anſwer the reviler in his language though never ſo much provok't. Yet in the detecting, and convincing of any notorious

enimie to truth and his Countries peace, especially that is conceited to have a voluble and smart fluence of tongue, and in the vaine confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious cling to worldly respects, stands up for all the rest to justifie a long usurpation and convicted Pseudepiscopy of Prelates, with all their ceremonies, Liturgies, and tyrannies which God and man are now ready to explode and hisse out of the land, I suppose and more then suppose, it will be nothing disagreeing from Christian meeknesse to handle such a one in a rougher accent, and to send home his haughtinesse well bespurted with his owne holy-water. Nor to do thus are we unauthoritied either from the morall precept of SALOMON to answer him thereafter that prides him in his folly; nor from the example of Christ, and all his followers in all Ages, who in the refuting of those that resisted sound Doctrine, and by subtile dissimulations corrupted the minds of men, have wrought up their zealous soules into such vehemencies, as nothing could be more [illegible] spoken: for who can be a greater enemy to Mankind, who a more dangerous deceiver then he who defending a traditionall corruption uses no common Arts, but with a wily Stratagem of yeelding to the time a greater part of his cause, seeming to forgo all that mans invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his hold in Scripture, yet leaving it hanging by a twin'd threed, not from divine command but from Apostolicall prudence or assent, as if he had the surety of some rouling trench, creeps up by this meanes to his relinquish't fortresse of divine authority againe; and still hovering betweene the confines of that which hee dares not bee o-

penly

penly, and that which he will not be ſincerely, traines on the eaſie Chriſtian inſenſibly within the cloſe ambuſhment of worſt errors, and with a ſlye ſhuffle of counterfeit principles chopping and changing till hee have glean'd all the good ones out of their minds, leaves them at laſt, after a ſlight reſemblance of ſweeping and garniſhing under the ſevenfold poſſeſſion of a deſperate ſtupidity. And therefore they that love the ſoules of men, which is the deareſt love, and ſtirs up the nobleſt jealouſie, when they meet with ſuch colluſion, cannot be blam'd though they bee tranſported with the zeale of truth to a well heated fervencie; eſpecially, ſeeing they which thus offend againſt the ſoules of their brethren, do it with delight to their great gaine, eaſe, and advancement in this world, but they that ſeeke to diſcover and oppoſe their falſe trade of deceiving, do it not without a ſad and unwilling anger, not without many hazards, but without all private and perſonall ſpleene, and without any thought of earthly reward, when as this very courſe they take ſtopps their hopes of aſcending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this life. And although in the ſerious uncaſing of a grand impoſture (for to deale plainly with you Readers, Prelaty is no better) there be mixt here and there ſuch a grim laughter, as may appeare at the ſame time in an auſtere viſage, it cannot be taxt of levity or inſolence: for even this veine of laughing (as I could produce out of grave Authors) hath oft-times a ſtrong and ſinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of indignation and ſcorne together then a falſe Prophet taken in the greateſt deareſt and moſt dangerous cheat, the

cheat of ſoules: in the diſcloſing whereof if it be harmfull to be angry, and withall to caſt a lowring ſmile, when the propereſt object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to ſay why thoſe two moſt rationall faculties of humane intellect anger and laughter were firſt ſeated in the breſt of man. Thus much (Readers) in favour of the ſofter ſpirited Chriſtian, for other exceptioners there was no thought taken. Onely if it bee ask't why this cloſe and ſuccinct manner of coping with the Adverſary was rather choſen, this was the reaſon chiefly, that the ingenuous Reader without further amuſing himſelfe in the labyrinth of controverſall antiquity, may come the ſpeedieſt way to ſee the truth vindicated, and Sophiſtry taken short at the firſt falſe bound. Next that the Remonſtrant himſelfe as oft as hee pleaſes to be frolick and brave it with others may find no gaine of money, and may learne not to inſult in ſo bad a cauſe. But now he begins.

Remonſtrant.

Sect. 1. *p.* 1. My ſingle *Remonſtrance* is encountred with a plurall *Adverſary*.

Anſwere.

Did not your ſingle Remonſtrance bring alongwith it a hot ſent of your more then ſingular affection to ſpirituall pluralities, your ſingleneſſe would be leſſe ſuſpected with all good Chriſtians then it is.

Remonſt. Their names, perſons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know.

Anſw. Their names are knowne to the all-knowing powers

power above, and in the meane while doutleſſe they wreck not whether you or your *Nomenclator* know them or not.

Remonſt. But could they ſay my name is Legion; for wee are many.

Anſw. Wherefore ſhould you begin with the Devils name deſcanting upon the number of your opponents? wherefore that conceit of *Legion* with a by-wipe? was it becauſe you would have men take notice how you eſteeme them, whom through all your booke ſo bountifully you call your brethren? wee had not thought that *Legion* could have furniſht the *Remonſtrant* with ſo many brethren.

Remonſt. My cauſe yea Gods would bid me meet them undiſmai'd, &c.

Anſw. Ere a foot furder we muſt bee content to heare a preambling boaſt of your valour, what a Sr. *Dunſtane*, you are to encounter *Legions*, either infernall or humane.

Remonſt. My cauſe, yea Gods.

Anſw. What gods? unleſſe your belly or the god of this world be hee? ſhew us any one point of your *Remonſtrance* that do's not more concern ſuperiority, pride, eaſe and the belly, then the truth and glory of God, or the ſalvation of ſoules.

Remonſt. My cauſe, yea Gods would bid me meet them undiſmaid, and to ſay with holy *David*, *though an hoaſt, &c.*

Anſw. Doe not think to Perſwade us of your undaunted courage by miſapplying to your ſelfe the words of holy *David*; we know you feare, and are in an agonie at this preſent, leſt you ſhould loſe that ſuperfluity of riches and honour which your party uſurp. And whoſoever covets and ſo earneſtly labours to keep ſuch an incumbring ſurcharge of earthly things, cannot but have an earth-quake ſtill in his bones. You are not arm'd *Remonſtrant*, nor any of your band, you are not dieted, nor

your loynes girt for spirituall valour, and Christian warfare, the luggage is too great that followes your Camp; your hearts are there, you march heavily. How shall we think you have not carnall feare while we see you so subject to carnall desires?

Pag. 2. *Remonst.* I doe gladly fly to the barre.

Ans. To the barre with him then. Gladly you say. We beleeve you as gladly as your whole faction wish't, and long'd for the assembling of this Parliament, as gladly as your beneficiaries *the Priests* came up to answer the complaints and outcries of all the Shires.

Remonst. The *Areopagi*? who were those? truly my masters I had thought this had beene the name of the place, not of the men.

Answ. A soar-Eagle, would not stoope at a flye, but sure some *Pedagogue* stood at your Elbow, and made it itch with this parlous Criticisme they urg'd you with a Decree of the sage and severe Judges of *Athens*; and you cite them to appeare for certaine *Paragogicall* contempts, before a capricious *Padantic* of hot-liver'd Grammarians. Mistake not the matter courteous *Remonstrant*, they were not making Latines: if in dealing with an outlandish name they thought it best not to screw the English mouth to a harsh forreigne termination, so they kept the radicall word, they did no more then the elegantest Authors among the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and at this day the *Italians* in scorne of such a servility use to doe. Remember how they mangle our Brittish names abroad; what trespasse were it, if wee in requitall should as much neglect theirs? and our learned *Chaucer* did not stick to doe so, writing *Semyramus* for *Semiramis*, *Amphiorax* for *Amphiaraus*, K. *Seyes* for K. *Ceyx* the husband of *Alcyone*, with many other names strangely metamorphis'd from true *Orthography*, if he had made any account of that in these kind of words.

At the beginning of his *Remonstrance.* *Remonst.* Lest the world should think the presse had

of

oflate forgot to speak any language other then libellous; this honest paper hath broken through the throng.

Answ. Mince the matter while you will, it shew'd but green practise in the lawes of discreet *Rhetherique* to blurt upon the eares of a judicious *Parliament* with such a presumptuous and over-weening *Proem*: but you doe well to be the Sewer of your owne messe.

Remon. That which you miscall the Preface, was a too just complaint of the shamfull number of Libells.

Ans. How long is it that you, and the Prelaticall troop have bin in such distast with Libells? aske your *Lysimachus Nicanor* what defaming invectives have lately flown abroad against the Subjects of *Scotland*, and our poore expulsed Brethren of *New-England*; the Prelates rather applauding, then shewing any dislike: and this hath bin ever so, in so much, that Sir *Francis Bacon* in one of his discourses complaines of the Bishops uneven hand over these Pamflets, confining those against Bishops to darknesse, but Licencing those against Puritans to be utter'd openly, though with the greater mischeife of leading into contempt the exercise of Religion in the persons of sundry Preachers, and disgracing the higher matter in the meaner person.

Remon. Apoint no lesse essential to that proposed *Remonstrance*,

Ans. We know where the shoo wrings you, you fret, and are gall'd at the quick, and O what a death it is to the Prelates to be thus un-visarded, thus unca'sd, to have the Periwigs pluk't off that cover your baldnesse, your inside nakednesse thrown open to publick view. The *Romans* had a time once every year, when their Slaves might freely speake their minds, twere hard if the free borne people of *England*, with whom the voyce of Truth for these many yeares, even against the proverb, hath not bin heard but in corners, after all your Monkish prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes, your

gags

gags and snaffles, your proud *Imprimaturs* not to be obtain'd without the shallow surview, but not shallow hand of some mercenary, narrow Soul'd, and illiterate Chaplain; when liberty of speaking, then which nothing is more sweet to man, was girded, and straight lac't almost to a broken-winded tizzick, if now at a good time, our time of *Parliament*, the very jubily, and resurrection of the State, if now the conceal'd, the aggreev'd, and long persecuted Truth, could not be suffer'd speak, and though she burst out with some efficacy of words, could not be excus'd after such an injurious strangle of silence, nor avoyde the censure of Libelling, twere hard, twere something pinching in a Kingdome of free spirits. Some Princes, and great Statists, have thought it a prime piece of necessary policy to thrust themselves under disguise into a popular throng, to stand the night long under eaves of houses, and low windows, that they might hear every where the free utterances of privat brests, and amongst them find out the precious gemme of Truth, as amongst the numberlesse pibbles of the Shoar; wherby they might be the abler to discover, and avoid that deceitfull, and close coutcht evill of flattery that ever attends them, and misleads them, and might skilfully know how to apply the several redresses to each malady of State, without trusting the disloyall information of Parasites, and Sycophants.: wheras now this permission of free writing, were there no good else in it, yet at some times thus licenc't, is such an unripping, such an Anatomie of the shiest, and tendereſt particular truths, as makes not only the whole Nation in many points the wiser, but also presents, and carries home to Princes, and men most remote from vulgar concourse, such a full insight of every lurking evil, or restrained good among the Commons, as that they shall not need heerafter in old Cloaks, and false Beards, to stand to the courtesy of a night-walking cudgeller for

eaves

eaves dropping, nor to accept quietly as a perfume, the over-head emptying of ſome ſalt lotion. Who could be angry therefore but thoſe that are guilty, with theſe free-ſpoken, and plaine harted men that are the eyes of their Country, and the proſpective glaſſes of their Prince? But theſe are the nettlers, theſe are the blabbing Bookes that tell, though not halfe your fellows feats. You love toothleſſe Satyrs; let me informe you, a toothleſſe Satyr is as improper as a toothed ſleekſtone, and as bulliſh.

Remon. I beſeech you brethren ſpend your Logick upon your own workes.

Anſ. The peremptory Analyſis that you will call it, I beleeve will be ſo hardy as once more to unpinne your ſpruce faſtidious oratory, to rumple her laces, her frizzles, and her bobins though ſhe wince, and fling, never ſo Peeviſhly.

Remon. Thoſe verbal exceptions are but light froth, and will ſink alone. *P.* 4.

Anſ. O rare ſuttlety, beyond all that *Cardan* ever dream't of, when I beſeech you, will light things ſink? when will light froth ſink alone. Here in your phraſe, the ſame day that heavy plummets will ſwimme alone. Truſt this man, Readers if you pleaſe, whoſe divinity would reconcile *England* with *Reme*, and his philoſophy make friends nature with the *Chaos*, *ſine pondere habentia pondus*.

Remon. That ſcum may be worth taking off which followes.

Anſ. Spare your Ladle ſir, it will be as bad as the Biſhops foot in the broth; the ſcum will be found upon your own *Remonſtrance*.

Remon. I ſhall deſire all indifferent eyes to judge whether theſe men do not endeavour to caſt unjuſt envy upon me.

Anſ. Agreed.

Remon. I had ſaid that the civil polity as in generall notion, hath ſome times varied, and that the civil came from arbitrary impoſers, theſe gracious interpreters would needs draw my words to the preſent, and particular goverment of our Monarchy.

Anſ. And deſervedly have they don ſo; take up your Logick elſe and ſee: civil politie, ſay you, hath ſometimes varied, and came from arbitrary impoſers, what propoſition is this? Biſhop *Downam* in his *Dialecticks* will tell you it is a generall axiome, though the univerſal particle be not expres't, and you your ſelfe in your defence ſo explaine in theſe words as in general notion. Hence is juſtly inferr'd he that ſaies civil polity is arbitrary, ſaies that the civil polity of *England* is Arbitrary. The inference is undeniable, *a theſi ad hypotheſin*, or from the general to the particular, an evincing argument in Logick.

p. 5. *Remon.* Brethren whiles yee deſire to ſeeme Godly, learne to be leſſe malitious.

Anſ. Remonſtrant, till you have better learnt your principles of Logick, take not upon you to be a Doctor to others.

Remon. God bleſſe all good men from ſuch charity.

Anſ. I never found that Logicall maxims were uncharitable before, yet ſhould a Jury of Logicians paſſe upon you, you would never be ſav'd by the Book.

Remon. And our Sacred Monarchy from ſuch friends.

Anſ Adde, as the Prelates.

Remon. If Epiſcopacy have yoked Monarchy, it is the Inſolence of the Perſons, not the fault of the Calling.

Anſ. It was the fault of the perſons, and of no Calling, we doe not count Prelatry a Calling.

Remon. The teſtimony of a Pope (whom theſe men ho-
P. 6. nor highly) *Anſ.* That ſlanderous inſertion was doubtles a pang of your incredible charity, the want whereof, you lay

lay ſo often to their charge; a kind token of your favour lapt up in a parentheſis, a piece of the Clergy benevolence layd by to maintain the Epiſcopal broile, whether the 1000 Horſe or no, time willdiſcover, for certainly had thoſe cavaliers come on to play their parts, ſuch a ticket as this of highly honouring the Pope, from the hand of a *Prelate*, might have bin of ſpecial uſe, and ſafety to them that had car'd for ſuch a ranſom.

Remon. And what ſaies Antichriſt.

Anſ. Ask your Brethren the Prelates that hold intelligence with him, ask not us. But is the Pope Antichriſt now? good newes! take heed you be not ſhent for this, for tis verily thought, that had this Bill bin put in againſt him in your laſt Convocation, he would have bin clear'd by moſt voices.

Remon: Any thing ſerves againſt Epiſcopacy.

Anſ. See the frowardnes of this man, he would perſwade us that the ſucceſſion, and divine right of Biſhopdom hath bin unqueſtionable through all ages, yet when they bring againſt him Kings, they were irreligious, *Popes*, they are Antichriſt, by what Æra of computation, through what Faery Land would the man deduce this Perpetual beadroul of uncontradicted Epiſcopacy? The *Pope* may as well boaſt his ungainſaid authority to them that will beleive that all his contradicters were either irreligious, or heretical. p. 75

Remon. If the Biſhops, ſaith the *Pope*, be declar'd to be of divine right they would be exempted from regal power, and if there might be this danger in thoſe Kingdomes why is this enviouſly upraided to thoſe of ours? who do gladly profeſſe &c.

Anſ. Becauſe your diſſever'd principles were but like the mangl'd pieces of a gaſh't Serpent, that now begun to cloſe, and grow together Popiſh againe. Whatſoever you now gladly profeſſe out of fear, we know what your drifts were when you thought your ſelves ſecure.

Remon. It is a foul ſlander to charge the name of Epiſcopacy with a faction, for the fact imputed to ſome few.

Anſ. The more foul your faction that hath brought a harmleſſe name into obloquie, and the fact may juſtly be imputed to all of yee that ought to have withſtood it, and did not.

Remon. Fie Brethren, are yee the Presbyters of the Church of *England*, and dare chalenge Epiſcopacy of faction.

Anſ. Yes, as oft as Epiſcopacy dares be factious.

Remon. Had you ſpoken ſuch a word in the time of holy Cyprian, what had become of you?

Anſ. They had neither bin hal'd into your Gehenna at *Lambeth*, nor ſtrappado'd with an Oath *Ex Officio* by your bow men of the Arches: and as for *Cyprians* time, the cauſe was farre unlike, he indeed ſucceeded into an Epiſcopacy that began then to Prelatize, but his perſonal excellence like an antidote overcame the malignity of that breeding corruption which was then a diſeaſe that lay hid for a while under ſhew of a full, and healthy conſtitution, as thoſe hydropick humors not diſcernable at firſt from a fair and juicy fleſhineſſe of body, or that unwonted ruddy colour which ſeems graceſull to a cheek otherwiſe pale, and yet ariſes from evil cauſes, either of ſome inward obſtruction, or inflammation, and might deceav the firſt Phiſicians till they had learnt the ſequell, which *Cyprians* dayes did not bring forth, and the Prelatiſm of Epiſcopacy which began then then to burgeon, and ſpread, had as yet eſpecially in famous men a fair, though a falſe imitation of flouriſhing.

Remon. Neither is the wrong leſſe to make applica-
P. 8. tion of that which was moſt juſtly charged upon the practiſes, and combinations of Libelling Separatiſts, whom I deſervedly cenſur'd &c.

Anſ. To conclude this Section, our *Remonſtrant* we

ſee

is resolv'd to make good that which was formerly said of his Book, that it was neither *humble*, nor a *Remonstrance*, and this his defence is of the same Complexion. When he is constrain'd to mention the notorious violence of his Clergy attempted on the Church of *Scotland*, he slightlie termes it a fact imputed to some few; but when he speakes of that which the *Parliament* voutsafes to name the *City Petition*, which I, saith he, (as if the State had made him publick Censor) deservedly censur'd. And how? as before for a tumultuarie, and underhand way of procured subscriptions, so now in his defence more bitterly, as the practizes, and combinations of Libelling Separatists, and the mis-zealous advocates thereof, justly to be branded for Incendiaries. Whether this be for the honour of our cheif Citty to be noted with such an infamie for a Petition, which not without some of the Magistrates, and great numbers of sober, and considerable men, was orderly, and meekly presented, Although our great Clarks think that these men, because they have a Trade (as *Christ* himselfe, and Saint *Paul* had) cannot therefore attaine to some good measure of knowledge, and to a reason of their actions, as well as they that spend their youth in loitering, bezzling, and harlotting, their studies in unprofitable questions, and barbarous sophistry, their middle age in ambition, and idlenesse, their old age in avarice, dotage, and diseases: and whether this reflect not with a contumely upon the *Parliament* it selfe, which thought this Petition worthy, not only of receaving, but of voting to a commitment, after it had bin advocated, and mov'd for by some honourable and learned Gentlemen of the House, to be cal'd a combination of Libelling Separatists, and the advocates thereof to be branded for Incendiaries, whether this appeach not the judgement, and approbation of the *Parliament*, I leave to equall Arbiters.

Reason. After the overflowing of your gall, you descend to Liturgy, and Episcopacy. *Sect.* 2.

Anſ. The overflow being paſt, you cannot now in your owne judgement impute any bitterneſſe to their following diſcourſes.

P. 9. *Remon.* D. *Hall* whom you name, I dare ſay for honors ſake.

Anſ. Y'are a merry man Sir, and dare ſay much.

Remonſt. And why ſhould I not ſpeake of Martyrs, as the Authors and uſers of this holy *Liturgie?*

Anſw. As the Authors? the Tranſlators you might perhaps have ſaid, for *Edward* the Sixt, as *Hayward* hath written in his Story, will tell you upon the word of a K. that the order of the Service, and the uſe thereof in the Engliſh Tongue is no other then the old Service was, and the ſame words in Engliſh which were in Latine, except a few things omitted, ſo fond, that it had been a ſhame to have heard them in Engliſh; theſe are his words: whereby we are left uncertaine who the Author was, but certaine that part of the work was eſteem'd ſo abſurd by the Tranſlators thereof, as was to be aſham'd of in Engliſh. O but the Martyrs were the refiners of it, for that only is left you to ſay. Admit they were, they could not refine a Scorpion into a Fiſh, though they had drawn it, and rinc't it with never ſo cleanly Cookery, which made them fall at variance among themſelves about the uſe either of it, or the Ceremonies belonging to it.

Remonſt. Slight you them as you pleaſe, we bleſſe God for ſuch Patrons of our good cauſe.

Anſw. O *Benedicite! Qui color ater erat, nunc eſt contrarius atro.* Are not theſe they which one of your Biſhops in print ſcornfully termes the *Perſian* Confeſſors? Are not theſe they whoſe Acts and Monuments are not onely ſo contemptible, but ſo hatefull to the *Prelates*, that their Story was almoſt come to be a prohibited *book*, which for theſe two or three Editions hath crept into the world by ſtealth, and at times of advantage, not without the open regret and vexation of the Biſhops, as ma-

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ny honeſt men that had to doe in ſetting forth the *Book* will juſtifie. And now at a dead liſt for your *Liturgie* you bleſſe God for them: out upon ſuch hypocriſie.

Remonſt. As if wee were bound to make good every word that falls from the mouth of every Biſhop. *P.* 10.

Anſw. Your faction then belike is a ſubtile *Ianus*, and ha's two faces: your bolder face to ſet forward any innovations or ſcandalls in the Church, your cautious, and wary face to diſavow them if they ſucceed not, that ſo the fault may not light upon the function, leſt it ſhould ſpoil the whole plot by giving it an irrecoverable wound. wherefore els did you not long agoe, as a good Biſhop ſhould have done, diſclaim, and proteſt againſt them, Wherfore haue you ſate ſtill, and comply'd and hoodwinkt, till the generall complaints of the Land have ſqeez'd you to a wretched, cold and hollow-hearted confeſſion of ſome Prelaticall riots both in this and other places of your *Booke*. Nay what if you ſtill defend them as followes?

Remonſt. If a Biſhop have ſaid that our *Liturgie* hath bin ſo wittily and charitably fram'd as that the devotion of it yeeldeth no cauſe of offence to a very *Popes* eare.

Anſ. O new and never-heard of Supererogative heighth of wiſdome and charity in our *Liturgie*! is the wiſedome of God or the charitable framing of Gods word otherwiſe inoffenſive to the *Popes* eare, then as hee may turne it to the working of his miſterious iniquitie? A little pulley would have ſtretch't your wiſe and charitable frame it may be three inches further, that the devotion of it might have yeelded no cauſe of offence to the very devils eare, and that had beene the ſame wiſedome and charity ſurmounting to the higheſt degree. For *Antichriſt* wee know is but the Devils Vicar, and therefore pleaſe him with your *Liturgie*, and you pleaſe his maiſter.

Remon. Would you thinke it requiſite that wee ſhould chide and quarrell when we ſpeake to the God of peace?

Anſw.

Answ. Fie no Sir; but forecast our prayers so that Sathan and his instruments may take as little exception against them as may be, lest they should chide and quarrell with us.

Remon. It is no little advantage to our cause, and piety, that our Liturgy is taught to speak severall languages for ure anp example.

Answ. The language of *Ashdod* is one of them, and that makes so many English-men have such a smattering of their *Philistian* Mother. And indeed our *Liturgie* hath run up and downe the world like an English galloping Nun, proffering her selfe, but wee heare of none yet that bids money for her.

Remonst. As for that sharp censure of learned Mr. *Calvin*, it might well have beene forborne by him in *aliena Republica.*

Answ. Thus this untheologicall *Remonstrant* would divide the individuall Catholicke Church into severall Republicks: know therefore that every worthy *Pastor* of the Church of *Christ* hath universall right to admonish over all the world within the Church; nor can that care be alien'd from him by any distance or distinction of nation, so long as in Christ all nations and languages are as one houshold.

P. 11. *Remonst.* Neither would you thinke it could become any of our greatest Divines to meddle with his charge.

Answ. It hath ill become 'em indeed to meddle so maliciously, as many of them have done, though that patient and Christian City hath borne hitherto all their profane scoffes with silence.

Remonst. Our *Liturgie* past the judgement of no lesse reverent heads then his owne.

Answ. It brib'd their judgement with worldly ingagements and so past it.

Remonst. As for that unparallel'd discourse concerning the antiquity of *Liturgies*; I cannot help your wonder, but shall justifie mine owne assertion. *Ans.*

Anſ. Your juſtification is but a miſerable ſhifting off thoſe teſtimonies of the ancienteſt Fathers alledg'd againſt you, and the authority of ſome Synodal Canons, which are no warrant to us. Wee profeſſe to decide our controverſies only by the Scriptures, but yet to repreſſe your vain glory, there will be volontarily beſtow'd upon you a ſufficient conviction of your novelties out of ſucceeding antiquity.

Remon. I cannot ſee how you will avoid your owne contradiction, for I demand is this order of praying and adminiſtration ſet, or no, if it be not ſet, how is it an order, and if it be a ſet order both for matter, and form. *P.* 12.

Answ. Remove that form, leſt you tumble over it, while you make ſuch haſt to clap a contradiction upon others.

Remon. If the formes were meerly Arbitrary, to what uſe was the preſcription of an order?

Anſ. Nothing will cure this mans underſtanding, but ſome familiar, and Kitchin phiſick; which with pardon muſt for plainnes ſake be adminiſter'd to him. Call hither your Cook. The order of Breakfaſt, Dinner, and Supper, anſwere me, is it ſet or no? Set. Is a man therefore bound in the morning to potcht eggs, and vinnegar, or at noon to Brawn, or Beefe, or at night to freſh Sammon, and French Kickſhoes? may he not make his meales in order, though he be not bound to this, or that viand? doubtleſſe the neat finger'd Artiſt will anſwer yes, and help us out of this great controverſy without more trouble. Can we not underſtand an order in Church aſſemblies of praying, reading, expounding, and adminiſtring, unleſſe our praiers be ſtill the ſame Crambe of words?

Remonſt. What a poore exception is this, that Liturgies were compoſ'd by ſome particular men?

Anſ. It is a greater preſumption in any particular men

men to arrogate to themselves that which God universally gives to all his Ministers. A Minister that cannot be trusted to pray in his own words without being chew'd to, and tescu'd to a formal injunction of his rote-lesson, should as little be trusted to Preach, besides the vain babble of praying over the same things immediatly againe, for there is a large difference in the repetition of some patheticall ejaculation rays'd out of the suddain earnestnesse and vigour of the inflam'd soul, (such as was that of *Christ* in the Garden) from the continual rehersal of our dayly orisons, which if a man shall kneel down in a morning and say over, and presently in an other part of the Room kneel down again, and in other words ask but still for the same things as it were out of one Inventory, I cannot see how he will escape that heathenish Battologie of multiplying words which *Christ* himselfe that has the pu ting up of our Praiers told us would not be acceptable in heaven. Well may men of eminent guifts set forth as many forms, and helps to praier as they please, but to impose them upon Ministers lawfully call'd, and sufficiently tri'd, as all ought to be, ere they be admitted, is a supercilious tyranny Impropriating the Spirit of God to themselves.

P. 13. *Remon.* Doe we abridge this liberty by ordaining a publick form.

Answ. Your Bishops have set as fair to doe it as they durst for that old Pharisaicall fear that still dogs them, the fear of the people, though you will say you were none of those, still you would seem not to have joyn'd with the worst, and yet keep aloof off from that which is best. I would you would either mingle, or part, most true it is what *Savanarola* complaines, that while hee endeavour'd to reforme the Church, his greatest enemies were still these Lukewarm ones?

Remon. And if the Lords Praier be an ordinary, and stinted form, why not others?

Answ.

Anſ. Becauſe there bee no other Lords that can ſtint with like authority.

Remon. If *Iuſtine Martyr* ſaid that the inſtructer of the people prai'd (as they falſly turn it) according to his abil ty. *P.* 14.

Anſ. ὁσὶ δύναμις αὐτῷ will be ſo render'd to the worlds end by thoſe that are not to learne Greek of the *Remonſtrant*, and ſo *Langus* renders it to his face, if he cou'd ſee, and this ancient Father mentions no antiphonies, or reſponſories of the people heer, but the only plain acclamation of Amen.

Remon. The inſtructer of the people prai'd according to his ability 'tis true, ſo do ours, and yet wee have a Liturgy, and ſo had they.

Anſw. A quick come off. The ancients vſ'd Pikes, and Targets, and therfore Guns, and great Ordnance, becauſe wee vſe both.

Remonſt. Neither is this liberty of powring out our ſelves in our prayers ever the more impeach't by a publique form.

Anſw. Yes the time is taken up with a tedious number of Liturgicall tautologies, and impertinencies.

Remon. The words of the Counſell are full and affir- *P.* 16.
mative.

Anſ. Set the grave councels up upon their ſhelvs again, and ſtring them hard, leſt their various, and jangling opinions put their leavs into a flutter. I ſhall not intend this hot ſeaſon to bid you the baſe through the wide, and duſty champaine of the Councels, but ſhall take counſel of that which counſel'd them, [illegible] and although I know there is an obſolet reprehenſion [illegible] your tongues end, yet I ſhall be bold to ſay that reaſon is the gift of God in one man, as well as in a thouſand; by that which wee have taſted already of their Cenſorns, wee may finde that reaſon was [illegible]ely thing, and not any divine command that [illegible]em to enjoyne ſet

forms of Liturgy. First leſt any thing in generall might be miſſaid in their publick *Prayers* through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the faith: and next, leſt the Arians, and Pelagians in particular ſhould infect the people by their hymns, and formes of Praier. By the leave of theſe ancient Fathers, this was no ſolid prevention of ſpreadding Hæreſy to debarre the Miniſters of God the uſe of their nobleſt talent, Praier in the Congregation, unleſſe they had forbid the uſe of Sermons, and Lectures too, but ſuch as were ready made to their hands as our Homelies, or elſe he that was heretically diſpoſ'd, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his diſcours, as in his Praier or hymn. As inſufficiently, and to ſay truth, as imprudently did they provide by their contrived Liturgies, leſt any thing ſhould be erroneouſly praid through ignorance, or want of care in the Miniſters. For if they were careleſſe, and ignorant in their Praiers, certainly they would be more careleſſe in their Preaching, and yet more careleſſe in watching over their Flock, and what preſcription could reach to bound them in both theſe? What if reaſon now illuſtrated by the word of God, ſhall be able to produce a better prevention then theſe Councells have left us againſt hereſie, ignorance or want of care in the Miniſtry, that ſuch wiſdome, and diligence be us'd in the education of thoſe that would be Miniſters, and ſuch ſtrict, and ſerious examination to be undergone ere their admiſſion as Saint *Paul* to *Timothy* ſets down at large, and then they need not carry ſuch an unworthy ſuſpicion over the Preachers of Gods word, as to tutor their unſoundneſſe with the Abcie of a Liturgy, or to diet their ignorance, and want of care, with the limited draught of a Mattin, and even ſong drench. And this may ſuffice after all your laborſome ſcrutinie of the Councels.

P. 17. *Remon.* Our Saviour was pleas'd to make uſe in the celebration of his laſt and heavenly Banket both of the

fashions.

fashions, and words which were usual in the Jewish Feasts.

Ans. What he pleas'd to make use of, does not justify what you please to force.

Remonst. The set forms of Praier at the Mincha.

Answ. Wee will not buy your Rabbinical fumes, wee have one that calls us to buy of him pure gold tri'd in the fire.

Remon. In the Samaritan Chronicle.

Ans. As little doe wee esteem your Samaritan trumpery, of which people *Christ* himselfe testifies, *Yee worship you know not what.*

Remon. They had their severall Songs. *P.* 18.

Ans. And so have wee our severall Psalmes for severall occasions, without gramercy to your Liturgy.

Remon. Those forms which we have under the names of Saint *Iames* &c. though they have some intersertions which are plainly spurious, yet the substance of them cannot be taxt for other then holy, and ancient. *P.* 19.

Ans. Setting aside the odde coinage of your phrase, which no mint-maister of language would allow for sterling, that a thing should be taxt for no other then holy, and ancient, let it be suppos'd the substance of them may savour of something holy, or ancient, this is but the matter; the forme, and the end of the thing may yet render it either superstitious, fruitlesse, or impious, and so, worthy to be rejected. The Garments of a Strumpet are often the same materially, that cloath a chast Matron, and yet ignominious for her to weare, the substance of the tempters words to our Saviour were holy, but his drift nothing lesse.

Remon. In what sense we hold the Roman, a true Church is so clear'd that this iron is too hot for their fingers.

Ans. have a care it be not the iron to sear your own conscience.

Pag. 23. *Remonst.* Ye need not doubt but that the alteration of the *Liturgie* will be considered by wiser heads then your owne.

Answ. We doubt it not because we know your head lookes to be one.

Remonst. Our *Liturgie* Symbolizeth not with *Popish* Masse, neither as Masse nor as *Popish*.

Answ. A pretty slip-skin conveyance to sift Masse into no Masse and *Popish* into not *Popish*; yet saving this passing fine sophisticall boulting hutch, so long as she symbolizes in forme, and pranks her selfe in the weeds of *Popish* Masse, it may be justly fear'd shee provokes the jealousie of God, no otherwise then a wife affecting whorish attire kindles a disturbance in the eye of her discerning husband.

Pag. 24. *Remonst.* If I finde gold in the Channell; shall I throw it away because it was ill laid?

Answ. You have forgot that gold hath been anathematiz'd for the idolatrous use, and to eat the good creatures of God once offer'd to Idols, is in Saint *Pauls* account to have fellowship with Devils, and to partake of the Devils Table. And thus you throttle your selfe with your owne Similies.

Remonst. If the Devils confest the Son of God, shall I disclaime that truth?

Answ. You sifted not so clean before, but you shuffle as foulely now: as if there were the like necessity of confessing Christ, and using the *Liturgie*: wee doe not disclaime that truth; because wee never beleev'd it for his testimonie, but wee may well reject a *Liturgie* which had no being that wee can know of, but from the corrupt'st times: if therefore the Devill should be given never so much to *Prayer*, I should not therefore cease from that duty, because I learn't it not from him; but if hee would commend to me a new *Pater noster*, though never so seeming holy, hee should excuse me the forme which

was

was his, but the matter, which was none of his, he could not give me, nor I bee ſaid to take it from him. 'Tis not the goodneſſe of matter therefore which is not, nor can be ow'd to the *Liturgie*, that will beare it out, if the form, which is the eſſence of it, be fantaſtick, and ſuperſtitious, the end ſiniſter, and the impoſition violent.

Remonſt. Had it beene compoſed into this frame on purpoſe to bring Papiſts to our Churches.

Anſw. To bring them to our Churches? alas what was that? unleſſe they had beene firſt fitted by repentance, and right inſtruction. You'l ſay the word was there preach't which is the meanes of conversion; you ſhould have given ſo much honour then to the word preach't, as to have left it to Gods working without the interloping of a Liturgy baited for them to bite at.

Remon. The Project had been charitable and gracious.

Anſw. It was Phariſaicall, and vain-glorious, a greedy deſire to win Proſelites by conforming to them unlawfully, like the deſire of *Tamar*, who to raiſe up ſeed to her Husband ſate in the common road dreſt like a Curtezan, and he that came to her committed incaſt with her. This was that which made the old Chriſtians Paganize, while by their ſcandalous and baſe conforming to heatheniſms they did no more, when they had done this utmoſt, but bring ſome Pagans to Chriſtianize; for true Chriſtians they neither were themſelves, nor could make others ſuch in this faſhion.

Remonſt. If there be found ought in *Liturgie* that may indanger a ſcandall, it is under carefull hands to remove it. *Pag.* 25.

Anſw. Such carefull hands as have ſhowne themſelves ſooner bent to remove and expell the men from the ſcandals, then the Scandals from the men, and to loſe a Soule rather then a ſillable or a Surplice.

Remonſt. It is idoliz'd they ſay in *England*, they mean at *Amſterdam*.

Anſw.

Answ. Be it Idoliz'd therefore where it will, it is only Idolatriz'd in *England*.

Remonst. Multitudes of people they say distast it, more shame for those that have so mistaught them.

Answ. More shame for those that regard not the troubling of Gods Church with things by themselves confest to be indifferent, since true charity is afflicted, and burns at the offence of every little one. As for the Christian multitude which you affirme to be so mistaught, it is evident enough, though you would declaime never so long to the contrarie, that God hath now taught them to detest your *Liturgie* and *Prelacie*: God who hath promis'd to teach all his Children, and to deliver them out of your hands that hunt and worry their soules: hence is it that a man shall commonly find more savoury knowledge in one Lay-man, then in a dozen of Cathedrall *Prelates*, as we read in our Saviours time that the common people had a reverent esteeme of him, and held him a great prophet whilst the gowned *Rabbies*, the incomparable, and invincible Doctors were of opinion that hee was a friend of *Beelzebub*.

Pag. 26. *Remonst.* If the multitude distast wholsome doctrine, shall we to humor them abandon it.

Answ. Yet againe? as if there were the like necessity of saving Doctrine, and arbitrary if not unlawfull, or inconvenient *Liturgie*: who would have thought a man could have thwackt together so many incongruous similitudes, had it not been to defend the motley incoherence of a patch'd Missall?

Remon. Why did not other Churches conforme to us, I may boldly say ours was, and is the more noble Church.

Answ. O *Laodicean*, how vainly, and how carnally dost thou boast of nobleness, and precedency! more Lordly you have made our Church indeed, but not more noble.

Pag. 27. *Remonst.* The second *quare* is so weak, that I wonder it could fall from the pens of wisemen.

Answ.

Answ. Y'are but a bad Fencer, for you never make a proffer against another mans weakneſſe; but you leave your owne ſide alwayes open: mark what followes.

Remonſt. Brethren, can yee thinke that our reformers had any other intentions then all other the founders of *Liturgies*, the leſt part of whoſe care was the help of the Miniſters weakneſſe.

Anſwer. Doe you not perceive the nooſe you haue brought your ſelfe into whilſt you were ſo briefe to taunt other men with weakneſſe? is it cleane out of your mind what you cited from among the Councels; that the principall ſcope of thoſe *Liturgie*-founders was to prevent either the malice or the weakneſſe of the Miniſters, their malice of infuſing hereſie in their formes of *Prayer*, their weakneſſe, leſt ſomthing might be compoſed by them through ignorance or want of care contrary to the faith: is it not now rather to bee wondred that ſuch a weakneſſe could fall from the pen of ſuch a wiſe *Remonſtrant* Man? *P.* 12.

Remon. Their maine drift was the help of the peoples devotion that they knowing before the matter that ſhould be ſued for.

Anſw. A ſollicitous care, as if the people could be ignorant of the matter to be prayd for; ſeeing the heads of publique *Prayer* are either ever conſtant, or very frequently the ſame.

Remon. And the words wherwith it ſhould be cloth'd, might be the more prepar'd, and bee ſo much the more intent, and leſſe diſtracted.

Anſ. As for the words, it is more to be fear'd leſt the ſame continually ſhould make them careleſſe or ſleepie, then that varietie on the ſame knowne Subject ſhould diſtract: variety (as both Muſick and Rhethorick teacheth us) erects and rouſes an Auditory, like the maiſter-full running over many Cords and diviſions; whereas if men ſhould ever bee thumming the drone of one plaine

Song, it would bee a dull Opiat to the most wakefull attention.

P. 30. *Remonst.* Tell me is this *Liturgie* good or evill?

Answ. It is evill: repaire the *Babelonian* horne of your *Dilemma* how you can, against the next push.

Remon. If it be evill, it is unlawfull to be us'd.

Answ. We grant you, and we finde you have not your salve about you.

Remon. Were the imposition amisse, what is that to the people?

Answ. Not a little, because they beare an equall part with the *Priest* in many places, and have their cues and versets as well as he.

P. 31. *Remon.* The eares and hearts of our people looke for a setl'd *Liturgie*.

Answ. You deceive your selfe in their eares and hearts, they looke for no such matter.

Remonst. The like answer serves for *Homelies*, surely were they enjoyn'd to all, &c.

Answ. Let it serve for them that will bee ignorant, we know that *Haywood* their owne creature writes that for defect of *Preachers Homelies* were appointed to bee read in Churches, while *Edw. 6.* reigned.

P. 32. *Remonst.* Away then with the Booke whilst it may be supply'd with a more profitable nonsence.

Answ. Away with it rather, because it will bee hardly supply'd with a more unprofitable non-sence, then is in some passages of it to be seene.

P. 32. SECT. 3.

Re. Thus their cavills concerning *Liturgy* are vanish't.

Answ. You wanted but *Hocus pocus* to have made your transition like a mysticall man of *Swadlings*. But for all your sleight of hand our just exceptions against *Liturgie* are not vanisht, they stare you still in the face.

Remonst. Certainly had I done so, I had beene no lesse worthy

worthy to bee ſpit upon for my ſaucy uncharitableneſſe, then they are now for their uncharitable falſhood.

Anſw. Weeſee you are in choler, therefore till you coole a while wee turne us to the ingenious Reader. See how this *Remonſtrant* would inveſt himſelfe conditionally with all the rheume of the Towne, that hee might have ſufficient to beſpaul his Brethren. They are accus'd by him of uncharitable falſhood, whereas their onely crime hath beene that they have too credulouſly thought him if not an over-logicall, yet a well-meaning man; but now we find him either groſsly deficient in his principles of *Logick*, or elſe purpoſely bent to delude the *Parliament* with equivocall ſophiſtry, ſcattering among his periods ambiguous words, whoſe interpretation he will afterwards diſpence according to his pleaſure; laying before us univerſall propoſitions, and then thinks when he will to pinion them with a limitation: for ſay *Remonſtrant*.

Remon. Epiſcopall government is cry'd down abroad by either weak or factious perſons.

Anſw. Chooſe you whether you will have this propoſition prov'd to you to be ridiculous, or ſophiſticall; for one of the two it muſt be. Step againe to Biſhop *Downam* your Patron, and let him gently catechiſe you in the grounds of *Logick*, he will ſhew you that this axiom Epiſcopall Goverment is cry'd downe abroad by either weak or factious perſons, is as much as to ſay, they that cry downe Epiſcopacy abroad are either weake or factious perſons. He will tell you that this axiom containes a diſtribution, and that all ſuch axioms are generall; and laſtly that a diſtribution in which any part is wanting, or abundant, is faulty, and fallacious. If therfore diſtributing by the adjuncts of faction, and weaknes the perſons that decry *Epiſcopacy*, you made your diſtribution imperfect for the nonce, you cannot but be guilty of fraud intended toward the honourable Court, to whom you

wrote. If you had rather vindicate your honesty, and suffer in your want of Art, you cannot condemne them of uncharitable falshood, that attributed to you more skill then you had, thinking you had beene able to have made a distribution, as it ought to be, generall, and full, and so any man would take it, the rather as being accompanied with that large word (abroad) and so take againe either your manifest lesing, or manifest ignorance.

Pag. 34. *Remon.* Now come these brotherly Slanderers.

Answ. Goe on dissembling *Ioab*, as still your use is, call brother and smite; call brother and smite, till it bee said of you, as the like was of *Herod*, a man had better be your hog then your Brother.

Remon. Which never came within the verge of my thoughts.

Answ. Take a Metaphor or two more as good, the Precinct, or the Dioceese of your thoughts.

Remon. Brethren, if you have any remainders of modesty or truth cry Godmercy.

Answ. Remonstrant, if you have no ground-worke of *Logick*, or plain-dealing in you, learne both as fast as you can.

Remon. Of the same straine is their witty descant of my confoundednes.

Answ. Speak no more of it, it was a fatall word, that God put into your mouth when you began to speak for Episcopacy, as boding confusion to it.

Pag. 35. *Remon.* I am still, and shall ever be thus selfe-confounded, as confidently to say that hee is no peaceable, and right affected Son of the Church of *England* that doth not wish well to *Liturgie*, and *Episcopacie*.

Answ. If this bee not that saucie uncharitableness, with which in the fore-going page you voluntarily invested your selfe with thought to have shifted it off, let the *Parliament* judge who now themselves are deliberating whe-

whether *Liturgie*, and *Episcopacy* be to be well wish't to, or no.

Remonst. This they say they cannot but rank amongst my notorious --- speake out Maisters, I would not have that word stick in your teeth or in your throat.

Answ. Take your spectacles Sir, it sticks in the paper, and was a pectoral Roule wee prepar'd for you to swallow downe to your heart.

Remonst. Wanton wits must have leave to play with their owne sterne. *Pag.* 36.

Answ. A Meditation of yours doubtlesse observ'd at *Lambeth* from one of the *Archiepiscopall Kitchens.*

Remonst. As for that forme of Episcopall Goverment, surely could those looke with my eyes, they would see cause to be ashamed of this their injurious misconceit. *Remonst* p 18.

Answ. We must call the Barber for this wise sentence: one Mr. *Ley* the other day writ a Treatise of the *Sabbath*, and in his *Preface* puts the wisedome of *Balaams* Asse upon one of our *Bishops*, bold man for his labour; but we shall have more respect to our *Remonstrant*, and liken him to the Asses Maister, though the Story say hee was not so quick-sighted as his Beast. Is not this *Balaam* the son of *Beor*, the man whose eyes are open, that said to the *Parliament*: surely could those looke with my eyes; boast not of your eyes, 'tis fear'd you have *Balaams* disease, a pearle in your eye, *Mammons* Præstriction.

Remonst. Alas we could tell you of *China*, *Japan*, *Peru*, *Brasil*, *New England*, *Virginia*, and a thousand others that never had any *Bishops* to this day. *Pag.* 37.

Answ. O do not foile your cause thus, and trouble *Ortelius*, we can help you, and tell you where they have bin ever since *Constantines* time at least, in a place call'd *Mundus alter & idem*, in the spacious, and rich Countries of *Crapulia*, *Pamphagonia*, *Tyronia*, and in the Dukedome of *Orgilia*, and *Variana* and their *Metropolis* of *Vcalegonium*.

nigm. It was an oversight that none of your prime *Antiquaries* could think of these venerable Monuments to deduce *Episcopacy* by: knowing that *Mercurius Britannicus* had them forth-comming.

SECT. 4.

Remonst. Hitherto they haue flouriſh't, now I hope they will ſtrike.

Anſ. His former tranſition was in the faire about the Jugglers, now he is at the *Pageants* among the Whifflers.

Pag. 43. *Remonſt.* As if Arguments were *Almanacks*.

Anſw. You will find ſome ſuch as will prognoſticate your date, and tell you that after your long *Summer Solſtice* the *Equator* calls for you, to reduce you to the ancient, and equall houſe of *Libra*.

Remon. Truely brethren you have not well taken the heighth of the *Pole*.

Anſw. No marvell, there be many more that doe not take well the height of your pole; but will take better the declination of your altitude.

Pag. 44. *Remonſt.* He that ſaid I am the way, ſaid that the old way was the good way.

Anſ. He bids ask of the old paths, or for the old wayes, where or which is the good way; which implies that all old wayes are not good; but that the good way is to be ſearcht with diligence among the old wayes, which is a thing that wee doe in the oldeſt Records wee have, the Goſpell. And if others may chance to ſpend more time with you in canvalling later antiquity, I ſuppoſe it is not for that they ground themſelves thereon; but that they endeavour by ſhewing the corruptions, incertainties, and diſagreements of thoſe Volumes, and the eaſines of erring, or overſlipping in ſuch a boundleſſe and vaſt ſearch, if they may not convince thoſe that are ſo ſtrongly perſwaded thereof; yet to free ingenuous minds from

from that over-awfull esteeme of those more ancient then trusty fathers whom custome and fond opinion, weake principles, and the neglect of sounder and superior knowledge hath exalted so high, as to have gain'd them a blind reverence: whose Books in bignesse, and number so endlesse, and immeasurable, I cannot think that either God or nature, either divine, or humane wisdome did ever meane should bee a rule or reliance to us in the decision of any weighty, and positive Doctrine. For certainly, every rule, and instrument of necessary knowledge that God hath given us, ought to be so in proportion as may bee wielded and manag'd by the life of man without penning him up from the duties of humane society, and such a rule and instrument of knowledge perfectly is the holy Bible. But hee that shall bind himselfe to make Antiquity his rule, if hee read but part, besides the difficulty of choyce, his rule is deficient, and utterly unsatisfying; for there may bee other Writers of another mind which hee hath not seene, and if hee undertake all, the length of mans life cannot extend to give him a full and requisite knowledge of what was done in Antiquity. Why doe wee therefore stand worshipping, and admiring this unactive, and irrelesse *Colossus*, that like a carved Gyant terribly menacing to children, and weaklings lifts up his club, but strikes not, and is subject to the muting of every Sparrow. If you let him rest upon his *Basis*, hee may perhaps delight the eyes of some with his huge and mountainous Bulk, and the quaint workmanship of his massie limbs; but if yee goe about to take him in pieces, yee marre him; and if you thinke like *Pigmees* to turne and wind him whole as hee is, besides your vaine toile and sweat, he may chance to fall upon your owne heads. Goe therefore, and use all your Art, apply your sledges, your levers, and your iron crows to heave and hale your mighty *Polyphem* of Antiquity to the delusion of Nouices,

and

and unexperienc't Christians. Wee shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God which hee hath left us as the just and adequate measure of truth, fitted, and proportion'd to the diligent study, memory, and use of every faithfull man, whose every part consenting and making up the harmonious *Symmetry* of compleat instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect man of God or *Bishop* throughly furnish't to all the good works of his charge: and with this weapon, without stepping a foot further, wee shall not doubt to batter, and throw down your *Nebuchadnezzars* Image and crumble it like the chaffe of the Summer threshing floores, as well the gold of those Apostolick Successors that you boast of, as your *Constantinian* silver, together with the iron, the brasse, and the clay of those muddy and strawy ages that follow.

Tim. 2. 3. 16, 17.

Pag. 45. *Remon.* Let the boldest forehead of them all deny that *Episcopacie* hath continued thus long in our Iland, or that any till this age contradicted it.

Answ. That bold forehead you have cleanly put upon your selfe, 'tis you who deny that any till this Age contradicted it; no forehead of ours dares do so much; you have row'd your selfe fairly between the *Scylla* and *Charibdis* either of impudence, or nonsence, and now betake you to whether you please.

Remon. As for that supply of accessory strength which I not begg.

Answ. Your whole *Remonstrance* does nothing else but beg it and your fellow-*Prelates* do as good as whine to the *Parliament* for their Flesh-pots of *Egypt*, making sad Orations at the Funerall of your deare *Prelacie*, like that doubtie Centurion *Afranius* in *Lucian*, who to imitate the noble *Pericles* in his *Epitaphian* speech, stepping up after the battell to bewaile the slaine *Severianus*, falls into a pittifull condolement, to think of those costly suppers, and drinking banquets, which he must now taste of

no

no more; and by then he had done, lack't but little to lament the deare-loved memory, and calamitous losse of his Capon, and whitebroth.

Remon. But raise, and evince from the light of Nature, and rules of just policie, for the continuance of those things which long use and many lawes have firmely establish't as necessary and beneficiall.

Answ. Open your eyes to the light of grace, a better guide then Nature. Look upon the meane condition of *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, without that accessory strength you take such paines to raise from the light of Nature, and Policie: take Divine Counsell, *Labour not for the things that perish*; you would be the salt of the earth, if that savour be not found in you, doe not thinke much that the time is now come to throw you out, and tread you under foot. Hark how S. *Paul* writing to *Timothy* informs a true *Bishop*. *Bishops* (saith he) *must not be greedy of filthy lucre, and having food and rayment, let us bee therewith content: but they* (saith hee, meaning more especially in that place *Bishops*) *that will be rich fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish, and hurtfull lusts, which drowne men in destruction, and perdition:* for *the love of money is the root of all evill, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith.* How can wee therefore expect sound Doctrine, and the solution of this our controversie from any covetous, and honour-hunting *Bishop* that shall plead so stiffly for these things, while St. *Paul* thus exhorts, every *Bishop*: *But thou O man of God flye these things.* As for the just policie, that long use and custome, and those many Lawes which you say have conferr'd these benefits upon you, it hath been nothing else but the superstitious devotion of *Princes* and great men that knew no better, or the base importunity of begging *Friers*, haunting and harassing the deathbeds of men departing this life in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit Heaven

for the building of *Churches*, *Cloyſters*, and *Covents*. The moſt of your vaunted poſſeſſions, and thoſe proud endowments that yee as ſinfully waſt, what are they but the black revennues of *Purgatorie*, the price of abuſed, and murder'd ſoules, the damned *Simony* of *Trentals*, and *Indulgences* to mortall Sin: how can ye chooſe but inherit the curſe that goes along with ſuch a Patrimony. Alas! if there be any releaſement, any mitigation, or more tollerable being for the ſoules of our miſguided Anceſtors, could wee imagine there might be any recovery to ſome degree of eaſe left for as many of them as are loſt; there cannot bee a better way then to take the misbeſtowed wealth which they were cheated of, from theſe our *Prelates*, who are the true Succeſſors of thoſe that popt them into the other world with this conceit of meriting by their goods, which was their finall undoing: and to beſtow their beneficent gifts upon places and meanes of Chriſtian education; and the faithfull labourers in Gods harveſt, that may inceſſantly warn the poſterity of *Dives* leſt they come where their miſerable fore-father was ſent by the couſenage and miſleading of avaritious and worldly *Prelates*.

Remon. It will ſtand long enough againſt the battry of their paper-pellets:

Anſ. That muſt be try'd without a ſquare cap in the Counſell, and if pellets will not doe, your owne Canons ſhall be turn'd againſt you.

Remonſtr. They cannot name any man in this Nation that ever contradicted *Epiſcopacie*, till this preſent Age.

Anſw. What an over-worne and bedrid Argument is this, the laſt refuge ever of old falſhood, and therefore a good ſigne I truſt that your Caſtle cannot hold out long. This was the plea of *Iudaiſme*, and Idolatry againſt *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, of *Papacie* againſt Reformation: and

and perhaps to the frailty of flesh and blood in a man destitute of better enlight'ning, may for some while bee pardonable; for what ha's fleshly apprehension other to subsist by then Succession, Custome, and Visibility, which onely hold if in his weakneſſe and blindneſſe he be loath to loſe, who can blame? but in a *Proteſtant* Nation that ſhould have throwne off theſe tatter'd Rudiments long agoe, after the many ſtrivings of Gods Spirit, and our fourſcore yeares vexation of him in this our wilderneſſe ſince Reformation began, to urge theſe rotten Principles, and twit us with the preſent age, which is to us an age of ages wherein God is manifeſtly come downe among us, to doe ſome remarkable good to our Church or ſtate, is as if a man ſhould taxe the renovating and re-ingendring Spirit of God with innovation, and that new creatnre for an upſtart noveltie; yea the new Ieruſalem, which without your admired linke of ſucceſſion deſcends from Heaven, could not ſcape ſome ſuch like cenſure. If you require a further anſwer, it will not miſbecome a Chriſtian to bee either more magnanimous, or more devout then *Scipio* was, who inſtead of other anſwer to the frivolous accuſations of *Petilius* the *Tribune*; *This day Romans* (ſaith he) *I fought with* Hanibal *proſperouſly; let us all goe and thank the gods that gave us ſo great a victory:* in like manner will we now ſay, not caring otherwiſe to anſwer this un-Proteſtant-like Objection: in this Age, *Brittains* God hath reform'd his Church after many hundred yeers of *Popiſh* corruption; in this Age hee hath freed us from the intolerable yoke of *Prelats*, and *Papall* Diſcipline; in this age he hath renewed our *Proteſtation* againſt all thoſe yet remaining dregs of ſuperſtition: Let us all goe every true proteſted *Brittaine* throughout the 3. *Kingdoms*, and render thanks to God the Father of light, and fountaine of heavenly grace, and to his ſon CHRIST our Lord; leaving this *Remonſtrant* and his adherents to their owne

deſignes, and let us recount even here without delay the patience and long ſuffering that God hath us'd towards our blindneſſe and hardnes time after time. For he being equally neere to his whole Creation of Mankind, and of free power to turne his benefick and fatherly regard to what Region or Kingdome he pleaſes, hath yet ever had this Iland under the ſpeciall indulgent eye of his providence; and pittying us the firſt of all other Nations, after he had decreed to purifie and renew his Church that lay wallowing in Idolatrous pollutions, ſent firſt to us a healing meſſenger to touch ſoftly our ſores, and carry a gentle hand over our wounds: he knockt once and twice and came againe, opening our drouſie eye-lids leaſurely by that glimmering light which *Wickleſ*, and his followers diſpers't, and ſtill taking off by degrees the inveterat ſcales from our nigh periſht ſight, purg'd alſo our deaf eares, and prepar'd them to attend his ſecond warning trumpet in our Grandſires dayes. How elſe could they have beene able to have receiv'd the ſudden aſſault of his reforming Spirit warring againſt humane Principles, and carnall ſenſe, the pride of fleſh that ſtill cry'd up Antiquity, Cuſtome, Canons, Councels and Lawes, and cry'd down the truth for noveltie, ſchiſme, profaneneſſe and Sacriledge: when as we that have liv'd ſo long in abundant light, beſides the ſunny reflection of all the neighbouring Churches, have yet our hearts rivetted with thoſe old opinions, and ſo obſtructed and benumm'd with the ſame fleſhly reaſonings, which in our forefathers ſoone melted and gave way, againſt the morning beam of *Reformation*. If God had left undone this whole worke ſo contrary to fleſh and blood, till theſe times, how ſhould wee have yeelded to his heavenly call, had we beene taken, as they were, in the ſtarknes of our ignorance, that yet after all theſe ſpirituall preparatives, and purgations have our earthly apprehenſions ſo clamm'd,

and

and furr'd with the old levin. O if we freeze at noone after their earely thaw, let us feare leſt the Sunne for ever hide himſelfe, and turne his orient ſteps from our ingratefull Horizon juſtly condemn'd to be eternally benighted. Which dreadfull judgement O thou the ever-begotten light, and perfect Image of the Father intercede may never come upon us, as we truſt thou haſt; for thou haſt open'd our difficult and ſad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long oppreſſions; thou haſt done juſtice upon thoſe that tyranniz'd over us, while ſome men waver'd, and admir'd a vaine ſhadow of wiſedome in a tongue nothing ſlow to utter guile, though thou haſt taught us to admire onely that which is good, and to count that onely praiſe-worthy which is grounded upon thy divine Precepts. Thou haſt diſcover'd the plots, and fruſtrated the hopes of all the wicked in the Land; and put to ſhame the perſecutors of thy Church; thou haſt made our falſe *Prophets* to be found a lie in the ſight of all the people, and chac'd them with ſudden confuſion and amazement before the redoubled brightneſſe of thy deſcending cloud that now covers thy Tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy walke through the midſt of thy Sanctuary, amidſt thoſe golden *candleſticks*, which have long ſuffer'd a dimneſſe amongſt us through the violence of thoſe that had ſeiz'd them, and were more taken with the mention of their gold then of their ſtarry light; teaching the doctrine of *Balaam* to caſt a ſtumbling-block before thy ſervants, commanding them to eat things ſacrifiz'd to Idols, and forcing them to fornication. Come therefore O thou that haſt the ſeven ſtarres in thy right hand, appoint thy choſen *Preiſts* according to their Orders, and courſes of old; to miniſter before thee, and duely to dreſſe and powre out the conſecrated oyle into thy holy and ever-burning lamps; thou haſt ſent out the ſpirit of prayer

upon thy ſervants over all the Land to this effect, and ſtirr'd up their vowes as the ſound of many waters about thy Throne. Every one can ſay that now certainly thou haſt viſited this land, and haſt not forgotten the utmoſt corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou waſt gone up from us to the fartheſt end of the Heavens, and hadſt left to doe marvellouſly among the ſons of theſe laſt Ages. O perfect, and accompliſh thy glorious acts; for men may leave their works unfiniſht, but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection; ſhouldſt thou bring us thus far onward from *Egypt* to deſtroy us in this Wilderneſſe though wee deſerve; yet thy great name would ſuffer in the rejoycing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy ſervants. When thou haſt ſettl'd peace in the Church, and righteous judgement in the Kingdome, then ſhall all thy Saints addreſſe their voyces of joy, and triumph to thee, ſtanding on the ſhoare of that red Sea into which our enemies had almoſt driven us. And he that now for haſte ſnatches up a plain ungarniſh't preſent as a thanke-offering to thee, which could not bee deferr'd in regard of thy ſo many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a Harp, and ſing thee an elaborate Song to Generations. In that day it ſhall no more bee ſaid as in ſcorne, this or that was never held ſo till this preſent Age, when men have better learnt that the times and ſeaſons paſſe along under thy feet, to goe and come at thy bidding, and as thou didſt dignifie our fathers dayes with many revelations above all the fore-going ages, ſince thou tookſt the fleſh; ſo thou canſt vouchſafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy ſpirit as thou pleaſeſt; for who ſhall prejudice thy all-governing will? ſeeing the power of thy grace is not paſt away with the primitive times, as fond and faithleſſe men imagine, but thy Kingdome is now at hand, and thou ſtanding at the dore.

Come

Come forth out of thy Royall Chambers, O Prince of all the Kings of the earth, put on the visible roabes of thy imperiall Majesty, take up that unlimited Scepter which thy Almighty Father hath bequeath'd thee; for now the voice of thy Bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to bee renew'd.

Sect. 5.

Remon. Neglect not the gift which was given thee by *Prophecie*, and by laying on the hands of *Presbytery*.

Answ. The English Translation expresses the Article *(the)* and renders it the *Presbytery* which you doe injury to omitt. *Pag.* 50.

Remonst. Which I wonder yee can so presse, when *Calvin* himself takes it of the Office, and not of the Men.

Ans. You think then you are fairly quit of this proofe, because *Calvin* interprets it for you, as if we could be put off with *Calvins* name, unlesse we be convinc't with *Calvins* reason; the word πρεσβυτέριον is a collective Nowne signifying a certain number of men in one order, as the word privy Councell with us, and so *Beza* interprets, that knew *Calvins* mind doubtlesse with whom he liv'd. If any among us should say the privy Counsell ordain'd it, and thereby constraine us to understand one mans authoritie, should we not laugh at him? And therefore when you have us'd all your cramping irons to the Text, and done your utmost to cramme a *Presbyterie* into the skin of one person, 'twill bee but a piece of frugall nonsense. But if your meaning bee with a violent *Hyperbaton* to transpose the Text, as if the Words lay thus in order, neglect not the gift of *Presbytery*; this were a construction like a *Harquebuze* shot over a File of words twelve deep without authority to bid them stoop, or to make the word *gift* like the River *Mole* in *Surrey* to runne under the bottome of a long Line, and so start up to governe the word *Presbyterie*, as in immediate *Syntaxis*,

Syntaxis, a device ridiculous enough to make good that old wives tale of a certaine Queene of *England* that sunk at *Charing-crosse*, and rose up at *Queene-hithe*. No marvell though the *Prelates* bee a troublesome generation, and which way soever they turne them, put all things into a foule discomposure, when to maintaine their domineering they seeke thus to rout, and dis-aray the wise and well-couch't order of Saint *Pauls* owne words, using either a certain textuall riot to chop off the hands of the word *Presbyterie*, or els a like kind of *Simony* to clap the word *gift* betweene them. Besides, if the verse must be read according to this transposition, μὴ ἀμέλει τῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος τῦ πρεσβυτερίου, it would be improper to call ordination χάρισμα, when as it is rather onely χείροτονία, an outward testimony of approbation, unless they will make it a Sacrament as the *Papists* doe: But surely the *Prelates* would have Saint *Pauls* words ramp one over another, as they use to clime into their Livings and *Bishopricks*.

Remonst.

Neither need wee give any other satisfaction to the point, then from Saint *Paul* himselfe, 2 *Timoth.* 1. 6. *Stirre up the gift of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands*; mine, and not others.

Answer.

Y'are too quick; this last place is to bee understood by the former, as the Law of Method, which beares cheife sway in the Art of teaching, requires, that clearest and plainest expressions bee set formost, to the end they may enlighten any following obscurity; and wherefore wee should not attribute a right Method to the teachableness of Scripture, there can bee no reason given: to which Method, if wee shall now goe contrarie, besides the breaking of a Logicall rule, which the *Remonstrant* hitherto wee see hath made little account of, wee shall also

also put a manifest violence, and impropriety upon a knowne word against his common signification in binding a Collective to a singular person. But if wee shall as *Logicke* (or indeed Reason) instructs us, expound the latter place by the former cited, and understand (by the Imposition of my hands) that is, of mine chiefly as an *Apostle*, with the joynt authority and assistance of the *Presbyterie*; there is nothing more ordinary, or kindly in speech, then such a phrase as expresses onely the cheife in any action, and understands the rest. So that the imposition of Saint *Pauls* hands, without more expression in this place cannot exclude the joynt Act of the *Presbyterie* affirm'd by the former Text.

Remon. In the meane while see Brethren how you have with *Simon* fisht all night, and caught nothing. *Pag.* 76.

Answ. If we fishing with *Simon* the Apostle can catch nothing; see what you can catch with *Simon Magus*; for all his hooks, & fishing implements he bequeath'd among you.

SECT. 13.

Remon. We doe againe professe; that if our *Bishops* challenge any other power then was delegated to, and required of *Timothy*, and *Titus*, wee shall yeeld them usurpers.

Answ. Ye cannot compare an ordinary *Bishop* with *Timothy*, who was an extraordinary man, foretold and prophesied to the Church by many Prophecies, and his name joyn'd as collateral with Saint *Paul*, in most of his Apostolick Epistles, even where hee writes to the *Bishops* of other Churches, as those in *Philippi*. Nor can you prove out of the Scripture that *Timothy* was *Bishop* of any particular place; for that wherein

it is said in the third Verse of the first *Epistle*: *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*, will be such a glosse to prove the constitution of a *Bishop* by, as would not onely be not so good as a *Bordeaux* glosse, but scarse be receiv'd to varnish a Visard of *Modena*. All that can bee gather'd out of holy Writ concerning *Timothy* is that hee was either an *Apostle*, or an *Apostles* extraordinary Vice-gerent, not confin'd to the charge of any place. The like may bee said of *Titus*, (as those words import in the 5. Verse, that he was for that cause left in *Crete*, that he might supply, or proceed to set in order that which Saint *Paul* in Apostolick manner had begun, for which hee had his particular Commission, as those words sound, (*as I had appointed thee.*) So that what hee did in *Creet*, cannot so much be thought the exercise of an ordinary Function, as the direction of an inspired mouth. No lesse also may be gather'd from the 2 *Cor.* 8. 23.

Remonst. You descend to the Angels of the seven *Asian* Churches, your shift is that the Angell is heere taken collectively, not individually.

Answ. That the word is collective appeares plainly, *Revel.* 2.

First, Because the Text it selfe expounds it so; for having spoken all the while as to the Angell, the seventh verse concludes that this was spoken to the Churches. Now if the Spirit conclude collectively, and kept the same Tenor all the way; for we see not where he particularizes, then certainly hee must begin collectively, else the construction can bee neither *Grammaticall* nor *Logicall*.

Second-

Secondly, if the word *Angel* be individuall; then are the faults attributed to him individuall: but they are such as for which God threatens to remove the Candlestick out of his place, which is as much as to take away from that Church the light of his truth: and wee cannot thinke he would doe so for one *Bishops* fault. Therefore those faults must be understood collective, and by consequence the subject of them collective.

Thirdly, an individuall cannot branch it selfe into subindividuals; but this word *Angel* doth in the tenth Verse. *Feare none of those things which thou shalt suffer; behold the Devill shall cast some of you into prison.* And the like from other places of this and the following Chapter may be observd. Therefore it is no individuall word, but a Collective.

Fourthly, in the 24. Verse this word *Angel* is made capable of a *Pronoune plurall*, which could not bee, unlesse it were a Collective, as for the supposed Manuscript of *Teola*, and two or three other Copies that have expung'd the Copulative, wee cannot preferre them before the more receiv'd reading, and wee hope you will not against the Translation of your Mother the Church of *England*, that pass't the revise of your cheifest *Prelates*: Besides this, you will lay an unjust censure upon the much-prais'd *Bishop* of *Thyatira*, and reckon him among those that had the Doctrine of *Iesabel*, when the Text sayes *he onely suffer'd her*. Whereas, if you will but let in a charitable conjunction, as wee know your so much call'd-for Charity will not deny, then you plainly acquit the *Bishop*, if you comprehend him in the name of *Angel*, otherwise you leave his case very doubtfull.

Remonstrance.

Pag. 105. *Then suffereth thy Wife Iashar, to be thee Wife to the whole Company, not to one Bishop alone?*

Ans. Not to the whole company doubtles, for that had bin worse then to have blamed *Levites* wife in *Gibeah*: but there among all those that constantly read it otherwise, whom you example upon, your good Mother of *England* is knowne againe in the throng, who with the rest reads it, *that Woman* Iesabel: but suppose it were Wife, a man might as well interpret that word figuratively, as her name *Iesabel* no man doubts to be a borrow'd name.

Remonst.

Pag. 111. Yet what makes this for a Diocesan *Bishop*? much every way.

Answer.

No more then a speciall endorsement could make to puffe up the foreman of a Jury. If wee deny you more precedence then as the Senior of any society, or deny you this priority to bee longer then Annuall. Prove you the contrary from hence, if you can. That you thinke so doe, from the title of eminence *Angel*: alas your wings are too short. 'Tis not Ordination nor Iurisdiction then is Angelicall, but the heavenly message of the Gospell, which is the office of all Ministers alike; in which sense *Iohn* the Baptist is call'd an *Angel*, which in Greeke signifies a Messenger, as oft as this occurs by name, and might be so render'd heere without treason to the *Hierarchy*, but that the whole Booke soares to a Prophetick pitch in types, and Allegories. Seeing then the reason of this borrow'd name is meerely to signifie the preaching of the Gospell, and that this preaching equally appertaines to the whole *Ministry*; hence may bee

Math. 11.

drawne

may be drawne a fifth argument, that if the reaſon of this borrowed name, Angel, be equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching miniſtry of the place, then muſt the name be collectively, and communicatively taken; but the reaſon, that is to ſay, the office of preaching and watching over the Flock is equally collective and communicative. Therefore the borrow'd name it ſelfe, is to be underſtood as equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching miniſtery of the place; and if you will contend ſtill for a ſuperiority in one perſon, you muſt ground it better then from this metaphor, which you may now deplore as the Axe head that fell into the water, and ſay, Alas Maſter, for it was borrow'd, unleſſe you have, as good a faculty to make Iron ſwim, as you had to make light froth ſink.

Remonſt. What is, if this be not ordination, and juriſdiction? *Pag.* 124.

Anſw. Indeed in the conſtitution, and founding of a Church, that ſome men inſpir'd from God ſhould have an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order, and diſpoſe, muſt needs be. So *Moſes*, though himſelfe no prieſt, ſanctify'd, and ordain'd *Aaron* and his ſons; but when all needfull things be ſet and regulated by the writings of the Apoſtles, whether it be not a meere folly to keep up a ſuperiour degree in the Church onely for ordination, and juriſdiction, it will be no hurt to debate a while. The Apoſtles were the builders, and as it were the Architects of the Chriſtian Church; wherein conſiſted their excellence above ordinary miniſters? a Prelate would ſay in commanding, in controuling, in appointing, in calling to them and ſending from about them to all countryes their Biſhops and Archbiſhops as their deputies, with a kind of Legantine power. No, no, vaine Prelates, this was but as the Scaffolding of a new edifice which for the time muſt board, and over-

looke the higheſt battlements, but if the ſtructure once finiſh't, any paſſenger ſhould fall in love with them, and pray that they might ſtill ſtand, as being a ſingular grace, and ſtrengthning to the houſe, who would otherwiſe thinke, but that the man were preſently to be laid hold on, and ſent to his friends and kindred. The eminence of the Apoſtles conſiſted in their powerfull preaching, their unwearied labouring in the Word, their unquenchable charity, which above all earthly reſpects like a working flume, had ſpun up to ſuch a height of pure deſire, as might be thought next to that love which dwels in God to ſave ſoules; which, while they did, they were contented to be the off-ſcouring of the world, and to expoſe themſelves willingly to all afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a joy unſpeakable. As for Ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward ſigne or ſymbol of admiſſion? it creates nothing, it conferres nothing; it is the inward calling of God that makes a Miniſter, and his own painfull ſtudy and diligence that manures and improves his miniſteriall gifts. In the primitive times, many before ever they had receiv'd ordination from the Apoſtles, had done the Church noble ſervice, as *Apollos*, and others; it is but an orderly forme of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge, the imployment of Preaching is as holy, and farr more excellent, the care alſo and judgement to be us'd in the winning of ſoules, which is thought to be ſufficient in every worthy Miniſter, is an ability above that which is requir'd in ordination: For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a miniſter, that would not be found fit to be made Miniſters themſelves, as it will not be deny'd that he may be the competent Judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limne the like. Why therefore wee ſhould conſtitute a ſuperiour order in the Church to performe an office which is not onely every miniſters function, but inferiour alſo

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to that which hee has a confeſt right to, and why this ſuperiority ſhould remaine thus uſurp'd, ſome wiſe *Epimenides* tell us. Now for juriſdiction this deare Saint of the Prelates, it will be beſt to conſider, firſt, what it is: That ſoveraigne Lord, who in the diſcharge of his holy anointment from God the Father, which made him ſupreame Biſhop of our ſoules was ſo humble as to ſay, Who made me a Judge, or a divider over yee, hath taught us that a Church-mans juriſdiction is no more but to watch over his flock in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, to deale by ſweet, and efficacious inſtructions; gentle admonitions, and ſomtimes rounder reproofs: againſt negligence, or obſtinacy will be requir'd a rouſing volie of Paſtorly threatnings, againſt a perſiſting ſtubbornes or the feare of a reprobate ſenſe, a timely ſeparation from the flock by that interdictive ſentence, leſt his converſation unprohibited, or unbranded might breath a peſtilentiall murrein into the other ſheepe. In ſumme, his juriſdiction is to ſee to the thriving and proſpering of that which he hath planted: what other work the Prelates have found for Chancellours and ſuffragans, Delegates and Officialls, with all the hell peſtering rabble of Sumners and Apparitors, is but an invaſion upon the temporall Magiſtrate, and affected by them as men that are not aſham'd of the enſigne and banner of Antichriſt. But true Evangelicall juriſdiction or diſcipline, is no more, as was ſaid, then for a Miniſter to ſee to the thriving and proſpering of that which he hath planted. And which is the worthieſt worke of theſe two, to plant, as every Miniſters office is equally with the Biſhops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiſcerning Prelates call juriſdiction, and would appropriate to themſelves as a buſineſſe of higher dignity? Have patience therefore a little, and heare a Law caſe: A certaine man of large poſ- ſeſſions, had a faire Garden, and kept therein an honeſt and laborious ſervant, whoſe skill and profeſſion was

looke the highest battlements, but if the structure once finish't, any passenger should fall in love with them, and pray that they might still stand, as being a singular grace, and strengthning to the house, who would otherwise thinke, but that the man were presently to be laid hold on, and sent to his friends and kindred. The eminence of the Apostles consisted in their powerfull preaching, their unwearied labouring in the Word, their unquenchable charity, which above all earthly respects like a working flume, had spun up to such a height of pure desire, as might be thought next to that love which dwels in God to save soules; which, while they did, they were contented to be the off-scouring of the world, and to expose themselves willingly to all afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a joy unspeakable. As for Ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward signe or symbol of admission? it creates nothing, it conferres nothing; it is the inward calling of God that makes a Minister, and his own painfull study and diligence that manures and improves his ministeriall gifts. In the primitive times, many before ever they had receiv'd ordination from the Apostles, had done the Church noble service, as *Apollos*, and others; it is but an orderly forme of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge, the imployment of Preaching is as holy, and farr more excellent, the care also and judgement to be us'd in the winning of soules, which is thought to be sufficient in every worthy Minister, is an ability above that which is requir'd in ordination: For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a minister, that would not be found fit to be made Ministers themselves, as it will not be deny'd that he may be the competent Judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limne the like. Why therefore wee should constitute a superiour order in the Church to performe an office which is not onely every ministers function, but inferiour also

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to set or sow all wholsome herbs, and delightfull flowers, according to every season, and what ever else was to be done in a well-husbanded nursery of plants and fruits; now, when the time was come that he should cut his hedges, prune his trees, looke to his tender slips, and pluck up the weeds that hinder'd their growth, he gets him up by breake of day, and makes account to doe what was needfull in his garden, and who would thinke that any other should know better than he how the dayes work was to be spent? Yet for all this there comes another strange Gardener that never knew the soyle, never handl'd a Dibble or Spade to set the least pot-herbe that grew there, much lesse had endur'd an houres sweat or chilnesse, and yet challenges as his right the binding or unbinding of every flower, the clipping of every bush, the weeding and worming of every bed both in that, and all other Gardens thereabout; the honest Gardener, that ever since the day-peepe, till now the Sunne was growne somewhat ranke, had wrought painfully about his bankes and seed-plots at this commanding voyce, turnes suddenly about with some wonder, and although hee could have well beteem'd to have thankt him of the ease hee profer'd, yet loving his owne handiworke, modestly refus'd him, telling him withall, that for his part, if hee had thought much of his owne paines, he could for once have committed the worke to one of his fellow-labourers, for as much as it is well knowne to be a matter of lesse skill and lesse labour to keepe a Garden handsome, then it is to plant it, or contrive it, and that he had already perform'd himselfe. No, said the stranger, this is neither for you nor your fellowes to meddle with, but for me onely that am for this purpose in dignity farre above you, and the provision which the Lord of the soyle allowes me in this office is, and that with good reason, ten fold your wages; the Gardener smil'd and shooke his head, but what was determin'd I cannot tell you till the end of this Parliament.

Remon.

Remon. If in time you ſhall ſee wooden chalices, and wooden prieſts, thanke your ſelves. P. 127.

Anſw. It had beene happy for this land, if your prieſts had beene but onely wooden, all *England* knowes they have been to this Iland not wood, but wormewood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that Apoſtate ſtarre in the Revelation; that many ſoules have di'd of their bitterneſſe; and if you meane by wooden, illiterate, or contemptible, there was no want of that ſort among you, and their number increaſing daily, as their lazineſſe, their Tavern-hunting, their neglect of all ſound literature, and their liking of doltiſh and monaſticall Schoolemen daily increaſt. What ſhould I tell you how the Vniverſities, that men looke ſhould be fountaines of learning and knowledge, have been poyſon'd and choak'd under your governance? and if to be wooden be to be baſe, where could there be found among all the reformed Churches, nay, in the Church of *Rome* it ſelfe a baſer brood of flattering and time-ſerving prieſts, according as God pronounces by *Iſaiah*, the Prophet that teacheth lies he is the taile. As for your young ſchollers that petition for Biſhopricks and Deaneries to incourage them in their ſtudies, and that many Gentlemen elſe will not put their ſons to learning, away with ſuch young mercenary ſtripplings and their Simoniacall fathers, God has no neede of ſuch, they have no part or lot in his Vineyard, they may as well ſue for Nunneries, that they may have ſome convenient ſtowage for their wither'd daughters, becauſe they cannot give them portions anſwerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in; this is the root of all our miſchiefe, that which they alleage for the incouragement of their ſtudies, ſhould be cut away forthwith as the very bait of pride and ambition, the very garbage that drawes together all the fowles of prey and ravin in the land to come, and gorge upon the Church; how can it be but ever unhappy to the Church of *England*, while ſhee

shall thinke to intice men to the pure service of God by the same meanes that were us'd to tempt our Saviour to the service of the devill, by laying before him honour and preferment. Fit professors indeed are they like to be, to teach others that godlinesse with content is great gaine, whenas their godlinesse of teaching had not been but for worldly gaine. The heathen Philosophers thought that vertue was for its owne sake inestimable, and the greatest gaine of a teacher to make a soule vertuous; so *Xenophon* writes of *Socrates* who never bargain'd with any for teaching them; he fear'd not lest those who had receiv'd so high a benefit from him, would not of their owne free-will returne him all possible thankes. Was morall vertue so lovely, and so alluring, and heathen men so enamour'd of her, as to teach and study her with greatest neglect and contempt of worldly profit and advancement; and is Christian piety so homely and so unpleasant, and Christian men so cloy'd with her, as that none will study and teach her, but for lucre and preferment! O stale-growne piety! O Gospell rated as cheap as thy Master, at thirty pence, and not worth the study, unlesse thou canst buy those that will sell thee! O race of Capernaitans, senslesse of divine doctrine, and capable onely of loaves and belly-cheere! But they will grant, perhaps, piety may thrive, but learning will decay: I would faine aske these men at whose hands they seeke inferior things, as wealth, honour, their dainty fare, their lofty houses? No doubt but they will soone answer, that all these things they seeke at Gods hands. Doe they thinke then that all these meaner and superfluous things come from God, & the divine gift of learning from the den of *Plutus*, or the cave of *Mammon*? Certainly never any cleare spirit nurst up from brighter influences with a soule inlarg'd to the dimensions of spacious art and high knowledge ever enter'd there but with scorn, & thought it ever foule disdain to make pelf or ambition the reward of his studies, it being the greatest honor, the greatest fruit and

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proficiency of learned ſtudies to deſpiſe theſe things. Not liberal ſcience, but illiberal muſt that needs be that mounts in contemplation meerely for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling Clergy though never ſo learned? For ſuch can have neither true wiſdom nor grace, and then in vain do men truſt in learning, where theſe be wanting. If in leſſe noble and almoſt mechanik arts according to the diſinitions of thoſe Authors, he is not eſteem'd to deſerve the name of a compleat Architect, an excellent Painter, or the like, that beares not a generous mind above the peaſantly regard of wages, and hire; much more muſt we thinke him a moſt imperfect, and incompleate Divine, who is ſo farre from being a contemner of filthy lucre; that his whole divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly, and brutiſh hopes of a fat Prebendary, Deanery, or Biſhoprick, which poore and low pitch't deſires, if they doe but mixe with thoſe other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this ſtudy, it is juſtly expected that they ſhould bring forth a baſe born iſſue of Divinity like that of thoſe imperfect, and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two moſt unlike procreants the Sun, and mudde. And in matters of Religion, there is not any thing more intollerable, then a learned foole, or a learned Hypocrite, the one is ever coopt up at his empty ſpeculations, a ſot, an ideot for any uſe that mankind can make of him, or elſe ſowing the World with nice, and idle queſtions and with much toyle, and difficulty wading to his auditors up to the eyebrows in deep ſhallows that wet not the inſtep: a plaine unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has, is better, and wiſer, and edifies others more towards a godly and happy life then he: The other is ſtill tuning his ſophiſticated arts and bending all his ſtudies how to make his inſatiate avarice, & ambition ſeem pious, and orthodoxall by painting his lewd and deceitfull principles with a ſmooth, and gloſſy varniſh in

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a doctrinall way to bring about his wickedeſt purpoſes. In ſtead of the great harme therefore that theſe men feare upon the diſſolving of Prelates, what an eaſe, and happineſſe will it be to us, when tempting rewards are taken away, that the cunningeſt and moſt dangerous mercenaries will ceaſe of themſelves to frequent the fold, whom otherwiſe ſcarce all the prayers of the faithfull could have kept back from devouring the flock? But a true Paſtor of Chriſts ſending hath this eſpeciall mark, that for greateſt labours, and greateſt merits in the Church, he requires either nothing, if he could ſo ſubſiſt, or a very common and reaſonable ſupply of humane neceſſaries: Wee cannot therefore doe better then to leave this care of ours to God, he can eaſily ſend labourers into his Harveſt, that ſhall not cry, Give, give, but be contented with a moderate and beſeeming allowance; nor will hee ſuffer true learning to be wanting, where true grace, and our obedience to him abounds: for if he give us to know him aright, and to practice this our knowledge in right eſtabliſht diſcipline, how much more will hee repleniſh us with all abilities in tongues and arts, that may conduce to his glory, and our good? He can ſtirre up rich Fathers to beſtow exquiſite education upon their Children, and ſo dedicate them to the ſervice of the Goſpell; he can make the ſons of Nobles his Miniſters, and Princes to be his Nazarites; for certainely there is no imployment more honourable, more worthy to take up a great ſpirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture, then to be the meſſenger, and Herald of heavenly truth from God to man, and by the faithfull worke of holy doctrine, to procreate a number of faithfull men, making a kind of creation like to Gods, by infuſing his ſpirit and likeneſſe into them, to their ſalvation, as God did into him; ariſing to what climat ſoever he turne him, like that Sun of righteouſneſſe that ſent him, with healing in his wings, and new

light

light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers, raiſing out of darkſome barrenneſſe a delicious, and fragrant Spring of ſaving knowledge, and good workes. Can a man thus imployd, find himſelfe diſcontented, or diſhonour'd for want of admittance to have a pragmaticall voyce at Seſſions, and Jayle deliveries? or becauſe hee may not as a Judge ſit out the wrangling noyſe of litigious Courts to ſhreeve the purſes of unconfeſſing and unmortify'd ſinners, and not their ſoules, or be diſcourag'd though men call him not Lord, when as the due performance of his office would gaine him even from Lords and Princes, the voluntary title of Father? would he tugge for a Barony to ſit and vote in Parliament, knowing that no man can take from him the gift of wiſedome, and ſound doctrine which leaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a teacher, and perſwader of the Parliament? and in all wiſe apprehenſions the perſwaſive power in man to win others to goodneſſe by inſtruction is greater, and more divine, then the compulſive power to reſtraine men from being evill by terrour of the Law; and therefore Chriſt left *Moſes* to be the Law-giver, but himſelfe came downe amongſt us to bee a teacher, with which office his heavenly wiſedome was ſo well pleas'd, as that he was angry with thoſe that would have put a piece of temporall judicature into his hands, diſclaiming that he had any commiſſion from above for ſuch matters.

Such a high calling therefore as this, ſends not for thoſe droſſy ſpirits that need the lure, and whiſtle of earthly preferment, like thoſe animals that fetch, and carry for a morſell, no. She can find ſuch as therefore ſtudy her precepts, becauſe ſhe teaches to deſpiſe preferment. And let not thoſe wretched Fathers thinke they ſhall impoveriſh the Church of willing, and able ſupply, though they keep back their ſordid ſperm begotten in the luſtineſſe of their avarice, and turne them to their

making-kils, rather let them take heed what lessons they instill into that lump of flesh which they are the cause of, lest, thinking to offer him as a present to God, they dish him out for the Devill. Let the novice learne first to renounce the world, and so give himselfe to God, and not therefore give himselfe to God, that hee may close the better with the World, like that false Shepheard *Palinode* in the Eclogue of *May*, under whom the Poet lively personates our Prelates, whose whole life is a recantation of their pastorall vow, and whose profession to forsake the World, as they pie the matter, boggs them deeper into the world. Those our admired *Spencer* inveighs against, not without some presage of these reforming times.

The time was once, and may again returne
(For oft may happen that hath been before)
When Shepheards had none inheritance
Ne of land, nor fee in sufferance,
But what might arise of the bare sheep,
(Were it more or lesse) which they did keep.
Well ywis was it with Shepheards tho.
Nought having, naught feared they to forgoe
For Pan himselfe was their inheritance
And little them served for their maintenance,
The Shepheards God so well them guided.
That of naught they were unprovided
Butter enough, honey, milk, and whay,
And their flock fleeces them to array.
But tract of Time, and long prosperity
(That nurse of vice, this of insolency)
Instilled the Shepheards in such security
That not content with loyall obeysance
Some gan to gape for greedy governance,
And match themselves with mighty potentates
Lovers of Lordships, and troublers of States.

The

Then gan Shepheards Swaines to looke aloft
And leave to live hard, and learne to lig soft.
Tho under colour of Shepheards some while
There crept in wolves full of fraud and guile
That often devoured their owne Sheep,
And often the Shepheard that did them keepe,
This was the first source of shepheards sorrow
That now nill be quit with hale, nor borrow.

By all this wee may conjecture, how little wee neede feare that the unguilding of our Prelates will prove the woodening of our Priests. In the meane while, let no man carry in his head either such narrow, or such evill eyes, as not to looke upon the Churches of *Belgia* and *Helvetia*, and that envied city *Geneva*: where in the Christian world doth learning more flourish than in these places? Not among your beloved Jesuits, nor their favourers, though you take all the Prelates into the number, and instance in what kinde of learning you please. And how in *England* all noble sciences attending upon the traine of Christian doctrine, may flourish more than ever; and how the able professors of every Art may with ample stipends be honestly provided; And finally, how there may be better care had that their hearers may benefit by them, and all this without the Prelates, the courses are so many and so easie, that I shall passe them over.

Remon. It is God that makes the Bishop, the King that gives the Bishopricke, What can you say to this? *Sect.* 14. *P.* 129.

Answ. What you shall not long stay for: we say it is God that makes a Bishop, and the Devill that makes him take a prelaticall Bishopricke; as for the Kings gift, regall bounty may be too liable in giving, where the Bishops covetousnesse is damnable in taking.

Remon. Many eminent Divines of the Churches abroad have earnestly wish'd themselves in our condition. *P.* 137.

Answ. I cannot blame them, they were not onely eminent, but supereminent Divines, and for stomach much like to *Pompey* the great, that could indure no equall.

P. 139. *Remon.* The Babylonian note sounds well in your ears, Downe with it, downe with it even to the ground.

Answ. You mistake the matter, it was the Edomitish note, but change it, and if you be an Angel, cry with the Angell, It is falne, it is falne.

Remon. But the God of Heav'n will, we hope, vindicate his owne Ordinance so long perpetuated to his Church.

Answ. Goe rather to your God of this world, and see if he can vindicate your Lordships, your temporall and spirituall tyrannies, and all your pelfe: for the God of heav'n is already come downe to vindicate his owne Ordinance from your so long perpetuated usurpation.

Sect. 15. *Pag.* 141. *Remon.* If yet you can blush.

Answ. This is a more Edomitish conceit than the former, and must be silenc'd with a counter quip of the same countrey. So often and so unfavourily has it been repeated, that the Reader may well cry, Downe with it, downe with it for shame. A man would thinke you had eaten over liberally of *Esaus* red porrage, and from thence dreame continually of blushing; or, perhaps, to heighthen your fancy in writing, are wont to sit in your Doctors scarlet, which through your eyes infecting your pregnant imaginative with a red suffusion, begets a continuall thought of blushing. That you thus persecute ingenuous men over all your booke, with this one over-tir'd rubricall conceit still of blushing; but if you have no mercy upon them, yet spare your selfe, lest you be jade the good galloway, your owne opiniaster wit, and make the very conceit it selfe blush with spur-galling.

Sect. 16. *P.* 148. *Remon.* The scandalls of our inferiour Ministers I desir'd to have had lesse publique.

Answ. And what your superiour Archbishop or Bishops?

shops? O forbid to have it told in *Gath*! say you. O dauber! and therefore remove not impieties from Israel. *Constantine* might have done more justly to have punish'd those Clergicall faults which he could not conceale, than to leave them unpunish'd, that they might remaine conceal'd: better had it beene for him that the heathen had heard the fame of his justice, than of his wilfull connivence and partiality; and so the name of God and his truth had been lesse blasphem'd among his enemies, and the Clergie amended, which daily by this impunitie grew worse and worse. But, O to publish it in the streetes of *Ascalon*! Sure some colonie of Puritans have taken *Ascalon* from the *Turke* lately, that the Remonstrant is so afraid of *Ascalon*. The Papists we know condole yee, and neither *Constantinople*, nor your neighbors of *Marocco* trouble you. What other *Ascalon* can you allude to?

Remon. What a death it is to thinke of the sport and advantage these watchfull enemies, these opposite spectators will be sure to make of our sinne and shame? *Remonstrance. Pag.* 37.

Answ. This is but to fling and strugle under the inevitable net of God, that now begins to inviron you round.

Remon. No one Clergie in the whole Christian world yeelds so many eminent schollers, learned preachers, grave, holy and accomplish'd Divines as this Church of *England* doth at this day. *Remonstrance. Pag.* 38.

Answ. Ha, ha, ha.

Remon. And long, and ever may it thus flourish.

Answ. O pestilent imprecation! flourish as it does at this day in the Prelates?

Remon. But oh forbid to have it told in *Gath*!

Answ. Forbid him rather, Sacred Parliament, to violate the sense of Scripture, and turne that which is spoken of the afflictions of the Church under her pagan enemies to a pargetted concealment of those prelatical crying sins; for from these is profaneneſſe gone forth into all the land; they have hid their eyes from the Sabbaths of the Lord;

they have feed themselves, and not their flocks, with forced and cruel yoke have they ruled over Gods people: They have fed his sheep (contrary to that which Saint *Peter* writes) not of a ready mind, but for filthy lucre, not as examples to the flock, but as being Lords over Gods heritage; and yet this Daubet would daub still with his untempered Morter. But hearken what God sayes by the Prophet *Ezekiel*; Say unto them that daub this wall with untempered Morter, that it shall fall, there shall be an overflowing shower, and yee O great hailstones shall fall, and a stormy wind shall rend it, and I will say unto you, the wall is no more, neither they that daube it.

Pet. 1. 5.

Ezek. 13.

P. 149. *Remon.* Whether of us shall give a better account of our charity to the God of peace, I appeale.

Answ. Your charity is much to your fellow offendors, but nothing to the numberlesse soules that have beene lost by these false feeding; use not therefore so filthily the name of Charity as most commonly you doe, and the peacefull attribute of God to a prepostorous end.

Sect. 17. *Remon.* In the next Section, like ill bred sons you spit in the face of your Mother the Church of *England*.

Answ. What should we doe or say to this *Remonstrant*? that by his idle, and shallow reasonings seemes to have been conversant in no Divinity, but that which is colourable to uphold Bishopricks. Wee acknowledge, and believe the Catholick reformed Church, and if any man be disposed to use a trope or figure, as Saint *Paul* once did in calling her the common Mother of us all, let him doe as his own rethorick shall perswade him. If therefore we must needs have a mother, and if the Catholick Church only be, and must be she, let all Genealogie tell us if it can, what we must call the Church of *England*, unlesse we shall make every English Protestant a kind of poeticall *Bacchus*, to have two Mothers: but marke Readers, the crafty scope of these Prelates

lites, they endeavour to imprint deeply into weak, and superstitious fancies the wilful notion of a mother, that hereby they might cheat them into a blind and implicite obedience to whatsoever they shall decree, or think fit. And if we come to aske a reason of ought from our deare mother, she's invisible, under the lock and key of the Prelates her spirituall adulterers, they onely are the interruntio's or the go betweens of this trim devis'd mummery: whatsoever they say shall sayes, must be a deadly sin of disobedience not to believe. So that we who by Gods speciall grace have shak'n off the servitude of a great male Tyrant, our pretended Father the Pope, should now, if we be not betimes aware of these wily teachers, sink under the slavery of a Female notion, the cloudy conception of a demy-Iland mother, and while we think to be obedient sonnes, should make ourselves rather the Bastards, or the Centaurs of their spirituall fornications.

Remon. Take heed of the Ravens of the vally.

Answ. The Ravens wee are to take heede on are your selves, that would pick out the eyes of all knowing Christians.

Remon. Sit you merry Brethren.

Answ. So we shall when the furies of Prelaticall consciences will not give them leave to doe so.

Queries. Whether they would not jeopard their eares rather &c. *Sect.* 18. *P.* 160.

Answ. A punishment that awaites the merits of your bold accomplices for the lopping, and stigmatizing of so many free borne Christians.

Remon. Whether the professed slovenlinesse in Gods service, &c. *P.* 161.

Answ. We have heard of *Aaron* and his linnen Amice, but these dayes are past; and for your Priest under the Gospell that thinks himselfe the purer, or the cleanlier in his office for his new washt Surplesse, we esteem him

for

for ſanctitie little better than *Apollonius Thyaneus* in his white frocke, or the Prieſt of *Iſis* in his lawne ſleeves, and they may all for holineſſe lie together in the ſuds.

Remon. Whether it were not moſt lawfull and juſt to puniſh your preſumption and diſobedience.

Anſw. The puniſhing of that which you call our preſumption and diſobedience lies not now within the execution of your fangs, the merciſull God above and our juſt Parliament will deliver us from your *Epheſian* beaſts, your cruell *Nimrods*, with whom we ſhall be ever feareleſſe to encounter.

Remon. God give you wiſdome to ſee the truth, and grace to follow it.

Anſw. I wiſh the like to all thoſe that reſiſt not the holy Ghoſt, for of ſuch God commands *Jeremie*, ſaying, Pray not thou for them, neither lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make interceſſion to me, for I will not hear thee; and of ſuch Saint *John* ſaith, He that bids them God ſpeed, is partaker of their evill deeds.

To the Poſtſcript.

Remon. A goodly Paſquin borrow'd for a great part out of *Sions* plea, or the breviate conſiſting of a rhapſody of hiſtories.

Anſw. How wittily you tell us what your wonted courſe is upon the like occaſion: the collection was taken, be it knowne to you, from as authentique authors in this kinde, as any in a Biſhops library; and the collector of it ſayes moreover, that if the like occaſion come againe, hee ſhall leſſe need the help of breviates, or hiſtoricall rhapſodies, than your reverence to eek out your ſermonings ſhall need repaire to *Poſtills*, or *Polianthea's*.

P. 164. *Remon.* They were Biſhops you ſay, true, but they were Popiſh Biſhops.

Anſw. Since you would bind us to your juriſdiction by their Canon-law, ſince you would inforce upon us the old riffe-raffe of *Sarum*, and other monaſticall reliques, ſince

ſince you live upon their unjuſt purchaſes, alleage their authorities, boaſt of their ſucceſſion, walke in their ſteps, their pride, their titles, their covetouſneſſe, their perſecuring of Gods people, ſince you diſclaime their actions, and build their ſepulchres, it is moſt juſt, that all their faults ſhould be imputed to yee, and their iniquities viſited upon yee.

Remon. Could yee ſee no Colleges, no Hoſpitals built? *P.* 166.

Anſw. At that *primèro* of piety the Pope and Cardinals are the better gameſters, and will cogge a Die into heav'n before you.

Remon. No Churches re-edified?

Anſw. Yes, more Churches then ſoules.

Remon. No learned volumes writ?

Anſw. So did the miſcreant Biſhop of *Spalatto* write learned volumes againſt the Pope, and run to *Rome* when he had done, yee write them in your cloſets, and unwrite them in your Courts, hot Volumiſts and cold Biſhops: a ſwaſhbuckler againſt the Pope, and a dormouſe againſt the Devil, while the whole Dioceſſe be ſown with tares, and none to reſiſt the enemy, but ſuch as let him in at the poſterne, a rare ſuperintendent at *Rome*, and a cipher at home. Hypocrites, the Goſpell faithfully preach'd to the poore, the deſolate pariſhes viſited and duely fed, loyterers throwne out, wolves driven from the fold, had beene a better confutation of the Pope and Maſſe, than whole Hecatontomes of controverſies, and all this careering with ſpeare in reſt and thundering upon the ſteele cap of *Baronius* or *Bellarmine*.

Remon. No ſeduced perſons reclaim'd?

Anſw. More reclaimed perſons ſeduc'd.

Remon. No hoſpitality kept?

Anſw. Bacchanalia's good ſtore in every Biſhops family, and good gleeking.

Remon. No great offenders puniſh'd?

Anſw. The trophies of your high Commiſſion are renown'd.

Remon. No good offices done for the publique?

Answ. Yes, the good office of reducing monarchie to tyrannie, of breaking pacifications, and calumniating the people to the King.

Remon. No care of the peace of the Church?

Answ. No, nor of the land; witnesse the two armies in the North that now lies plunder'd, and over-run by a liturgie.

Remon. No diligence in preaching?

Answ. Scarce any preaching at all.

Remon. No holinesse in living?

Answ. No.

Remon. Truely brethren I can say no more, but that the fault is in your eyes.

Answ. If you can say no more than this, you were a proper Remonstrant to stand up for the whole tribe.

Remon. Wipe them, and looke better.

Answ. Wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light.

Remon. Yea, I beseech God to open them rather that they may see good.

Answ. If you meane good Prelates, let be your prayer, aske not impossibilities.

Remon. As for that proverb, the Bishops foot hath been in it, it were more fit for a *Scurra* in *Trivio*, or some Ribald upon an Ale-bench.

Answ. The fitter for them then of whom it was meant.

P. 167. *Remon.* I doubt not but they will say, the Bishops foot hath been in your booke, for I am sure it is quite spoil'd by this just confutation; for your proverb, *Sapit Ollam*.

Answ. Spoyld quoth ye? indeed it is so spoyld, as a good song is spoyld by a lewd fiddler, or as the saying is, God sends meat, but the Cooks worke their wills; in that sense we grant your Bishops foot may have spoyld it, and made it *Sapere ollam*, if not *Sapere anfam*, which is the same in old Latin, and perhaps in plaine English. For certaine your confutation hath atchiev'd nothing a-

gainst

gainst it, and left nothing upon it, but a foule taste of your skillet foot, and a more perfect and distinguishable odour of your socks, then of your night-cap. And how the Bishop should confute a book with his foot, unlesse his braines were dropt into his great toe, I cannot meet with any man that can resolve me, onely they tell me that certainly such a confutation must needs be goutie. So much for the Bishops foot.

Remon. You tell us of *Bonners* broth, it is the fashion in some countries to send in their Keal in the last service, and this it seemes, is the manner amongst our Smectimnuans.

Answ. Your latter service at the high Altar you mean; but soft Sir, the feast was but begun, the broth was your owne, you have been inviting the Land to it this foure-score yeares, and so long we have been your slaves to serve it up for you, much against our wils, we know you have the Beefe to it, ready in your Kitchins, we are sure it was almost sod before this Parliament begun; what direction you have given since to your Cooks to set it by in the Pantry till some fitter time, we know not, and therefore your deare jest is lost; this broth was but your first service: Alas Sir, why doe you delude your guests? Why doe not those goodly Flanks and Briskets march up in your stately chargers? doubtlesse, if need be, the Pope that owes you for mollifying the matter so well with him, and making him a true Church, will furnish you with all the fat Oxen of *Italy*.

Remon. Learned, and worthy Doctor *Moulin* shall tell them.

Answ. *Moulin* sayes in his booke of the calling of Pastors, that because Bishops were the reformers of the English Church, therefore they were left remaining: This argument is but of small force to keepe you in your Cathedrals. For first it may be deny'd that Bishops were our first Reformers, for *Wickliffe* was before them, and

his egregious labours are not to be neglected, besides our Bishops were in this worke but the disciples of Priests, and began the reformation before they were Bishops: But what though *Luther* and other Monks were the reformers of other places; does it follow therefore that Monks ought to continue? No; though *Luther* had taught so: and lastly; *Moulins* argument directly makes against you, for if there be nothing in it, but this, Bishops were left remaining because they were the reformers of the Church, by as good a consequence therefore they are now to be remov'd, because they have been the most certaine deformers and ruiners of the Church. Thus you see how little it availes you to take Sanctuary among those Churches which in the generall scope of your actions formerly you have disregarded, and despis'd, however your faire words would now smooth it over otherwise.

P. 168. *Remon.* Our Bishops some whereof being crown'd with Martyrdome, subscrib'd the Gospell with their blood.

Answ. You boast much of Martyrs to uphold your Episcopacy, but if you would call to minde what *Eusebius* in his 5. l. recites from *Apolinarius* of *Hierapolis*, you should then heare it esteem'd no other then an old hereticall argument, to prove a position true, because some that held it were martyrs: this was that wich gave boldnesse to the *Marcionists*, and *Cataphryges* to avouch their impious heresies for pious doctrine, because they could reckon many Martyrs of their sect, and when they were confuted in other points, this was ever their last and stoutest plea.

Remon. In the mean time I beseech the God of Heaven to humble you.

Answ. We shall beseech the same God to give you a more profitable, and pertinent humiliation, then yet you know, and a lesse mistaken charitableness, with that peace which you have hitherto so perversely misaffected.

FINIS.

A PARADOX, IN THE PRAISE OF A DUNCE, TO Smectymnuus.

By *H. P.*



LONDON,
Printed for *Thomas* [illegible] in Queenes Head Court in *Peter* [illegible]
1642.

A PARADOX, IN THE PRAISE OF A DUNCE.

TO

Smectymnuus.

By H. P.

LONDON,
Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, in Queen's Head Court in Pater Noster Row. 1672.

A Paradox
In the praise of a DVNCE.

[redacted]hen I undertook this subject and seriously bethought me of [redacted]ther Title, (as *Plinies* advice to every Author) *The praise of* [redacted] *Dunce*, I considered whether I were my selfe a *Dunce* [redacted]r no, then it had been true, *proprio laus sordet in ore*. [redacted] Against, *Qui alterum incusare parat, seipsum antuert operiri*. But when I saw that I had spent no small a time in the Vniversity, published some usefull Bookes, (as well in Latine as English) to the Common-wealth, which have taken in the world, and I could never get any thereby, but *στεφανους*, as *Plutarch* calls them, silken words, I concluded I was no *Dunce*; But the greatest reason of all that perswaded me was, that for all my paines I could never get any preferment, had I bin a *Dunce*, without question, I had long ere this, perhaps bin double or treble beneficed, bin a Lasie Prebend, or Deane of some Cathedrall my selfe, or kept a fellowship with a good Living to boote in some Colledge or other, as long as I had lived. But to our purpose. There is no question, but a *Dunce* deserves this name from *Dens*, *Sapere*, who was a tolerable writer in his time; and no doubt but they deserve to be commended, for that they are pretenders to his knowledge and learning, and though they cannot attaine to the same, yet in *rebus magnis & nobilibus sat est*.

They commonly keepe good houses, and give entertainement to Learned men, and so they do (as *Erasmus* saith) *satisfacere officium Hospitalitatis*. Yea while they are in the Vniversities, they are very beneficiall by bestowing Suppers and Breake-fasts, (besides their liberality in Money) upon such learned Schollers as make their Declamations and other exercises for them.

They love and make much of their Wives above other, (whom they choose commonly the handsomest in the whole Country) keeping them in their Coaches, their Taffata, or Plush Gownes, themselves clad in Damaske, with their broad Beavers, Hats turned up, or crusht close before like a Court dripping-pan. They make good sport in their exercises, by speaking of false Latine, making absurd arguments, to the exceeding recreation of others. And since Taciturnitie, or silence is a vertue, they are to bee commended for their silence, for in learned company where matter of knowledge or Learned discourse is offered, hee alwayes holds his peace. I remember in a Christmasse time as I was at Dinner in

the company of one who was a Doctor, and had some zeal, by the reare in spirituall living, when a learned friend of mine a Doctor of the Civill Law, told him that I was a stranger lately come from beyond the Seas, and could speake little or no Latine, and desired to speake to him in Latine, which I did, the Doctor by an interpreter, answered me, it was not the Custome of *England* to speak Latine in a Christmasse time, and so thinking to me wee had no more discourse.

He can in his preaching please both Country and Citie, and give them content. In the Countrie he will never stand above three quarters of an houre, whereby young men of the parish have leasure enough in the [illegible] recreate themselves at any exercise they please: in the Citie he [illegible] to preach (such as they are) three or foure Sermons in a day. *Andrewes* when he was Vicar of St. *Giles* without [illegible] ten say, that if he preached twice in one day, his second Sermon was rather a prating than a preaching, for need every Sermon hee made was throughly studied, and fraught with abundance of reading and learning.

The best Scholers commonly are slovens in respect of the rest of them; they goe spruce and feate, and what soever their Doctrine or divisions be, if they be handsom men and weare pontificall Beards, they are much commended by the Feminine Auditory, for such *Erasmus* merily, *In Farra Ep. Fœmine laudant concionem a vultu Concionatoris*, Women commend a Sermon from the Preachers countenance.

They never make any quarrell betweene our Church and the Church of *Rome*, neither medle they with controversies, & ever write against *Bellarmine*, *Bucanus*, *Suarez*, and the rest. He will hardly suffer any living to fall into the lapse, which rather than it should be will engrosse three or foure into his own hands. He seldom falleth out or quarrelleth with any man, now and then he will break *Priscians* head till the blood run about his eares.

Against the pope he be no scholer himselfe, he will provide of some more able than himselfe to preach, which as a fole leaves him off the better.

Sometimes if he bee ambitious of popular applause, he will cut the Schismaticke in some kind or other, sowing the Tares and Cockle, in woods and corners, to the hazard of his eares; this proceedeth both from want of learning, and want of wit, wherein hee is to be pitied. *Sermones quasi in angulis.*

A *Dance* also makes us good sport with many of his words that he publisheth himself, or that is published by another, witnesse, *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, where you shall see Dancey to the life, that if a man be extremely Melancholique, let him read that booke, and I will warrant it to cure him.

If a *Dance* falls into a Scholler's company as he travells upon the way, or meets at an Inne at night, he is the most boone companion of the world, he will call for Wine, and the best meate in the house (for observe, they are common

manly

monly the sons of wealthy men and lets exceeding rich, which indeed maketh them *Dunces*, and in the end pay for all, which, who can deny but to bee a most honest and a generous part. Hee commonly playeth well at Bowles, and is so valiant that hee scorns to give ground to any man. Hee hath an especiall care of the burning of Piggs upon the spit, and the overbaking of Pies in the Oven, therefore by his good will, hee will make short work upon a Sunday, and he thinks an Homily well read to be sufficient.

If he bee a Separatist (as many of them affecting singularity above their fellowes prove,) he puts his Auditors to little or no charge at al for his Pulpit, a Velvet Cuthion for his Deske, or so rich a Pulpit Cloth as they have at St. *Martins* in the Fields, nor ever troubles he his officious Clerke to waite at his opened Pulpit dore for his comming in, for in plaine truth his preaching place or Pulpit, is either a two-eard Bucking-tub, or at the best the one halfe of a Vintners Caske, without any dore at all. The Bishop of his Diocesse commonly beares with him and much delighteth in his company at publike entertainements and meetings. For many of them though they want learning, yet have they oftimes good Naturall wits, and ripe concepts upon any occasion. As one came before Bishop B. to bee examined and polled of the Bishop for a Living (which was bestowed upon him) when he came for his institution, and it fell out to be late at night, and at such a time the B. was writing of a letter, Mr. B. quoth the Bishop, you have picked out an ill time, for me to examine you in, neither am I at leasure to aske you many questions, come one quoth the Bishop; what is latine for this Candlesticke, and if it please your Lordship quoth the other, the Candlesticke is latine of it selfe, so it was, indeed a latine Candlesticke, the B. not knowing whether he spake it out of simplicity, or in way of jest, gave him his institution, without further questioning.

A *Dunce* commonly will tell the people of their faults truly and roundly, or if they heare of any misbehaviour or abuse in a Parish th y will not stick (though he leaves his Text altogether) to correct and beate it downe, and many times will tell such as are guiltie to their faces of such and such faults they have committed. One preached at *Barkeway*, and after he had read his Text told the people their Towne consisted of many Lordships, and how he was informed of one notable abuse amongst them in that Parish, which was, if a Cow or Oxe of another mans were strayed away and hapned into any of their grounds, they would with a Rie loafe hot out of the Oven bend his hornes which way they listed, so that when the owner came to challenge his owne Cow he knew not whether that were shee or no, for quoth hee my Cowes hornes stood backward, these stand before and hang downe her forehead, surely this is not she; and thus men were cozened of their Cattell, but the truth was, none in the Town knew this trick before, but after he had preached it amongst them, presently after they began to practise it.

another chaire by chance was straight unto a hire. To one that shall see him shortly, some day of rule before the Visitation in the same Town he went to the Arch-Deacon desiring him in the Towne, that he might have leave to preach, which (to grant him being a stranger and very formall in his habit) was granted: upon the day, before the whole Clergie, the Arch-Deacon, Chancellor, and most of the officers of the spirituall Court, hee went into the Pulpit, after he had made his prayer, he read his Text, *Come and See*. My Text divideth it selfe (quoth he) most naturally into two parts, the one is *Come*, the other *See*, *Come* I apply to our selves of the Clergie, and *See* to the Laitie: for the first, *Come* I divide it into three parts, whither wee *Come*, then who they be that *Come*, then how they *Come*: we *Come* hither to a Visitation, which is derived from an old Latine Verbe, of the first Conjugation *Viso*, *visi-as*, *Visitavi*, withall he makes an obeisance to the Arch-Deacon, and to visite is a Metaphor borrowed from the visiting of Patients by the Physitian, for they visit them to see whether they bee sicke or sound in the Body, so these Visitations to see whether the Country men be sick or sound in the purse or no, &c. who they be that *Come*, (for (quoth he) I comprehend under the name of Visitation all manner of your Ecclesiasticall Courts) here come to your Courts and visitations, Swine, men presented for drunkennesse, Goates and Towne Bulls, for lying with their owne maides, or their neighbours Wives, and what become of them after they have dearely paid for their poundage in your spirituall (or rather fleshly) Courts, they run againe into other mens Corne, and doe as much mischiefe as they did before, &c. *How they come*, your rich and double beneficed Parsons come a day or too before, and feast the Arch-Deacon, Chancellors, Proctors, sparing neither for Sack nor Claret, the poore Curate except his Church-Wardens be the more mercifull unto him to pay for his dinner, hee must fast and go home as he came: to be short, some *Come* with money, and some *Come* with none, if you do not beleeve me *Come and See*. So he fell into his Text againe, &c. Now *See* for the Laitie, I see a number sit and stand at the nether end of this Church, who if they had beene thriftie and good husbands when they were young, they might have had their places above and had heard me better: and I see a great fault in you Inne-keepers of this ancient Citie or Town, who lodge a foot-man who hath travailed hard all day upon a Mattris or a flock-bed at the best, if an horse-man comes to your houses, riding upon an ambling Nagge, or an easie trotting Gelding you lay him upon the best feather bed you have, and sometimes upon two; I wish this fault amended, the poore footeman hath more need of a feather bed than the other, after this manner he proceeded, till the glasse was run out, when he had made an end, and was come downe, the Proctors, Apparators, and other officers of the Court, had like to have torne him in peeces, but the Arch-Deacon and Chancellor would not suffer them, but cried him

next

next morning to come before them, but after dinner he had taken his horse and was never heard of after. Notable are the absurditics of Dunsticall Schoole-Masters, as one at Dunstable was so precise, that hee would not teach his Schollers to say *Amo* I love, but *Amo* I am in Charitie, quoth a Boy wiser than him, then Master I must construe, *Cum amarem eram miser*, when I was in Charity, I was a wretch.

I had my selfe a Schoole-Master who is yet living, who I well remember construed unto mee *Macenas atavis edite regibus, edite*, set you forth *Macenas* the sports, *atavis regibus*, of ancient Kings.

One Sir *Hugh* a Welchman who was a Browniſt or the like, taught a Schoole in *Glouſterſhire*, who when he was accuſed before the Major of the Towne for teaching his boyes to speake falſe Latine, and that they profited little or nothing, hee told their fathers, they should play at Cat, or spanne Counter with all the boyes in the Countrey.

Your very *Dunce* is commonly like *Ignoramus*, an excellent Solicitor in Law buſineſſe, and many Countrey Parſons are fitter for pettifogging than for preaching.

One, a *Dunce* in Graine after hee had read his Text, fell a rayling againſt Church Government, for which his Sermon he was cited before Biſh. *Barlow*, whom upon his horſe backe he met comming out of Gate at *Buckden* houſe, he riding upon a white Gelding with a redde Saddle and a yellow Saddle Cloth, how now Mr. *G.* quoth the Biſhop, is this Canonicall, a Red Saddle, and a yellow Saddle Cloth for a Miniſter? My *L.* quoth the Parſon, though you have Canons for me, you have none for my horſe.

And the common reaſon why moſt of our *Dunces* care not for Learning, is becauſe say they, *Scientia inflat*, knowledge puffeth up: and in very truth as our Times are, the matter is not great whither a man be learned or a *Dunce*, for he may come to preferment as ſoone by the one as the other, though he were but a Tradeſman, or a Mechanike.

Let not my Reader be offended at what I have written, for like a ſuite in Birchen *Lane, if any thing here fit him let him weare it.*

FINIS.

next morning to come before him, but after dinner he had [illegible]
and was never heard of after. Miserable are the ablutions of D[illegible]
School-Masters, as one of Dull's fellow-[illegible]
teach his Schollers to say, adieu I love, for Adieu C[illegible]
By wiser than him, when Master I shall com[illegible]
ter, when I wash'd Charity, I was a Dunce.

I had my tithe a School-[illegible]
ber confirmed unto me. [illegible]
Mistress the topics, and [illegible]
One Sir Hugh a Welshman [illegible]
schoole in Glocester[illegible]
Towne for teaching [illegible]
little or nothing, but [illegible]
Counter with all the loves in [illegible]

Your very Dunces [illegible]
in Law Latine, and many [illegible]
shelter nothing.

One, Dunce Cleric [illegible]
Church Government, for which [illegible]
ters, when upon his knees [illegible]
knees, he riding upon a white [illegible]
saddle Cloth, low [illegible]
Red Saddle, and a yellow [illegible]
Parlon, through your [illegible]

And the common reason why [illegible]
ting, is because they, [illegible]
much as our Times are, the [illegible]
a Dunce, for I am [illegible]
thought me more a [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

OBSERVATIONS
CONCERNING
THE ORIGINALL
OF
GOVERNMENT,

Upon
- *Mr.* HOBBS *Leviathan.*
- *Mr.* MILTON againſt *Salmaſius.*
- H. GROTIUS *De Jure Belli.*
- *Mr.* HUNTONS *Treatiſe of Monarchy.*

ARIST. POL. *Lib.* 4.

Ἡ μεσὴ πολιτεία ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγγύτατα μὲν τὰς βασιλείας ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῶν.

LONDON:
Printed for R. ROYSTON, at the *Angel* in *Ivie-Lane.* 1652.

THE PREFACE.



Ith no ſmall content I read Mr. Hobs *Book* De Cive, *and his* Leviathan, *about the Rights of Soveraignty, which no man, that I know, hath ſo amply and judiciouſly handled: I conſent with him about the Rights of* exerciſing *Government, but I cannot agree to his means of* acquiring *it. It may ſeem ſtrange I ſhould praiſe his Building, and yet miſlike his Foundation; but ſo it is, his* Jus naturæ, *and his* Regnum Inſtitutivum *will not down with me: they appear full of contradiction, and impoſſibilities; a few ſhort Notes about them, I here offer, wiſhing he would conſider whether his Building would not ſtand firmer upon the Principles of* Regnum Patrimoniale (*as he calls it*) *both according to* Scripture *and* Reaſon. *Since he confeſſeth the* Father being before the inſtitution of a Common-wealth was Originally an abſolute Soveraigne with power of Life and Death, *and that* a great Family, as to the Rights of Soveraignty, is a little Monarchy. *If according to the order of nature he had handled* Paternal Government *before that by* Inſtitution, *there would have been little liberty left in the Subjects of the Family to conſent to inſtitution of Government.*

In his pleading the Cauſe of the People, he arms them

with a very large Commission of Array; which is, a Right in Nature for every Man, to war against every Man when he please: and also a Right for all the People to govern. This latter Point, although he affirm in words, yet by consequence he denies, as to me it seemeth.

He saith a Representative *may be of* All, *or but of a* Part *of the* People. *If it be of* All, *he terms it a* Democratie, *which is the Government of the People. But how can such a Common-wealth be generated? for if every man Covenant with every man, who shall be left to be the* Representative? *if* All *must be* Representatives, *who will remain to Covenant? for he that is Sovereign makes no Covenant by his Doctrine. It is not* All *that will come together, that makes the* Democratie, *but* All *that have power by Covenant; thus his* Democratie *by institution fails.*

The same may be said of a Democratie *by acquisition, for if all be* Conquerors, *who shall Covenant for life and Liberty? and if all be not Conquerors, how can it be a* Democratie *by Conquest?*

A Paternal Democratie *I am confident he will not affirm, so that in conclusion the poor People are deprived of their Government, if there can be no* Democratie *by his Principles.*

Next, if a Representative Aristocratical *of a part of the People be free from covenanting, then that whole Assembly (call it what you will) though it be never so great, is in the state of Nature, and every one of that Assembly hath a Right not onely to kill any of the Subjects that they meet with in the streets, but also they all have a natural Right to cut one anothers throats, even while they sit together in Counsell by his Principles. In this miserable condi-*

tion

tion of War is his Repreſentative Ariſtocratical *by inſtitution.*

A Common-wealth by Conqueſt *he teacheth, is, then* acquired, *when the vanquiſhed to avoid preſent death, Covenanteth that ſo long as his Life, and the Liberty of his body is allowed him, the Victor ſhall have the uſe of it, at his pleaſure: Here I would know how the liberty of the vanquiſhed can be allowed, if the Victor have the uſe of it at pleaſure, or how it is poſsible for the Victor to perform his Covenant, except he could alwayes ſtand by every particular man to protect his Life and Liberty?*

In his review and concluſion he reſolves, that an ordinary Subject hath liberty to ſubmit, when the means of his life is within the Guards and Gariſons of the enemy. It ſeems hereby that the Rights of Soveraignty by inſtitution may be forfeited, for the Subject cannot be at liberty to ſubmit to a Conqueror, except his former ſubjection be forfeited for want of protection.

If his Conqueror be in the ſtate of nature, when he conquers, he hath a right without any Covenant made with the conquered; If conqueſt be defined to be the acquiring of right of Soveraignty by victory, *why is it ſaid* the Right is acquired in the Peoples ſubmiſſion, by which they contract with the Victor, promiſing obedience for Life and Liberty? *hath not every one in the ſtate of nature a right to Soveraignty, before conqueſt, which onely puts him in poſſeſsion of his Right?*

If his Conqueror be not in the ſtate of nature, but a Subject by Covenant, how can he get a right of Soveraignty by conqueſt, when neither he himſelf hath right to conquer, nor ſubjects a liberty to ſubmit? ſince a former contract lawfully made, cannot lawfully be broken by them.

The Preface.

I wish the Title of the Book had not been of a COMMON-WEALTH, *but of a* Weal Publique, *or* COMMON-WEAL, *which is the true word, Carefully observed by our Translator of* Bodin de Republica *into English: Many ignorant men are apt by the Name of* Common-wealth *to understand a popular Government, wherein* Wealth *and all things shall be* Common, *tending to the* Levelling Community *in the state of pure Nature.*

Obser-

OBSERVATIONS
on Mr. HOBS LEVIATHAN:
OR,
HIS ARTIFICIAL MAN
A Common-wealth.

I.

IF God created onely *Adam*, and of a piece of him made the Woman; and if by generation from them two as parts of them all Mankinde be propagated: If also God gave to *Adam* not onely the Dominion over the Woman and the Children that should issue from them, but also over the whole Earth to subdue it, and over all the Creatures on it, so that as long as *Adam* lived no man could claime or enjoy any thing but by donation, assignation, or permission from him: I wonder how the *Right of Nature* can be imagined by Mr. *Hobs*, which he saith is, *a liberty for each man to use his own power as he will himself for preservation of his own life; a condition of war of every one against every one; a right of every man to every thing, even to one anothers body*, especially since himself affirms, *pag.* 178. *that originally the father of every man was also his Soveraign Lord with power over him of life and death.* Pag. 64.

II.

Mr. *Hobs* confesseth and believes *it was never generally so*, that there was such a *jus naturæ*; and if not generally, then not at all, for one exception bars all if he mark it well; whereas he imagines such a *Right of Nature* may be now practised in *America*, he

he confesseth a Government there of Families, which Government how *small* or *brutish* soever (as he calls it) is sufficient to destroy his *jus naturale*.

III.

I cannot understand how this *Right of Nature* can be conceived without imagining a Company of men at the very first to have been all Created together, without any dependency one of another, or as *Mushroms* (*fungorum more*) *they all on a sudden were sprung out of the earth without any obligation one to another*, as Mr. *Hobs* words are in his book *De Cive*, *cap.*8. *sect.*3. the Scripture teacheth us otherwise, that all men came by succession, and generation from one man: we must not deny the truth of the History of the Creation.

IV.

It is not to be thought that God would create man in a condition worse then any beasts, as if he made men to no other end by nature but to destroy one another; a right for the father to destroy or eat his Children, and for children to do the like by their Parents, is worse then Caniballs: This horrid condition of pure nature when Mr. *Hobs* was charged with, his refuge was to answer, *that no Son can be understood to be in this state of pure Nature*: which is all one with denying his own principle; for if men be not free-born, it is not pollible for him to assign and prove any other time for them to claim a right of nature to liberty, if not at their birth.

De Cive, *Cap.* 1. *Sect.*10.

V.

But if it be allowed (which is yet most false) that a company of men were at first without a common power to keep them in awe; I do not see why such a condition must be called *a state of war of all men against all men*: indeed if such a multitude of men should be created as the earth could not well nourish, there might be cause for men to destroy one another rather then perish for want of food; but God was no such niggard in the Creation, and there being plenty of sustenance and room for all men, there is no cause or use of war till men be hindred in the preservation of

of life, ſo that there is no abſolute neceſſity of warre in the ſtate of pure nature, it is the right of nature for every man to live in peace, that ſo he may tend the preſervation of his life, which whilſt he is in actuall warre he cannot do. Warre of it ſelf as it is warre preſerves no mans life, it onely helps us to preſerve and obtain the means to live: if every man tend the right of preſerving life, which may be done in peace, there is no cauſe of warre.

VI.

But admit the ſtate of nature were the ſtate of warre, let us ſee what help M. *Hobs* hath for it. It is a principle of his, that *the law of nature is a rule found out by reaſon*, (I do think it is given by God) *forbidding a man to do that which is deſtructive to his life, and to omit that by which he thinks it may be beſt preſerved*: If the right of nature be a liberty for a man to do any thing he thinks fit to preſerve his life, then in the firſt place nature muſt teach him that life is to be preſerved, and ſo conſequently forbids to do that wch may deſtroy or take away the means of life, or to omit that by which it may be preſerved: and thus the *Right of nature* and *the Law of nature* will be all one: for I think M. *Hobs* will not ſay the right of nature is a liberty for man to deſtroy his own life. The law of nature might better have been ſaid to conſiſt in a command to preſerve or not to omit the meanes of preſerving life, then in a prohibition to deſtroy or to omit it. Pag. 64.

VII.

Another principle I meet with, *If other men will not lay down their Right as well as he, then there is no reaſon for any to deveſt himſelf of his*: Hence it followes that if all the men in the world do not agree, no Common-wealth can be eſtabliſhed, it is a thing impoſſible for all the men in the world every man with every man to Covenant to lay down their right. Nay it is not poſſible to be done in the ſmalleſt Kingdome, though all men ſhould ſpend their whole lifes in nothing elſe but in running up and down to Covenant. Pag. 65.

VIII.

Pag. 65. Right may be laid aside but not transfer'd, for *he that renounceth or passeth away his right, giveth not to any other man a right which he had not before, and reserves a right in himself against all those with whom he doth not Covenant.*

IX.

Pag. 87. *The only way to erect a Common power or a Common wealth; is for men to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or one assembly of men that may reduce all their wills by plurality of voices to one will; which is to appoint one man or an assembly of men to bear their person, to submit their wills to his will: this is a reall unity of them all in one person, made by Covenant of every man with every man, as if every man should say to every man, I authorise, and give up my Right of governing my self to this man or this assembly of men, on this condition that thou give up thy right to him, and authorise all his actions. This done, the multitude so united in one Person, is called a Common-wealth.*

To authorise and give up his right of governing himself, to confer all his power and strength, and to submit his will to another, is to lay down his Right of resisting: for if right of nature be a liberty to use power for preservation of life, laying down of that power must be a relinquishing of power to preserve or defend life, otherwise a man relinquisheth nothing.

To reduce all the wills of an assembly by plurality of voices to one will, is not a proper speech, for it is not a plurality but a totality of voices which makes an assembly be of one will, otherwise it is but the one will of a major part of the assembly, the negative voice of any one hinders the being of the one will of the assembly, there is nothing more destructive to the true nature of a lawfull assembly then to allow a major part to prevaile when the whole onely hath right. For a man to give up his right to one that never Covenants to protect, is a great folly, since it is neither

Pag. 66. *in consideration of some right reciprocally transferd to himself, nor can he hope for any other good, by standing out of the way, that the other*

other may enjoy his own originall right without hinderance from him by reason of so much diminution of impediments.

X.

The Liberty, saith M. Hobs, *whereof there is so frequent and honorable mention in the Histories & Philosophy of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and in the writings and discourse of those that from them have received all their Learning in the Politiques, is not the Liberty of particular men, but the Liberty of the Common-wealth. Whether a common-wealth be Monarchical or Popular, the Freedom is still the same.* Here I finde M. *Hobs* is much mistaken: for the Liberty of the Athenians and Romans was a liberty only to be found in Popular Estates, and not in Monarchies. This is cleer by *Aristotle*, who calls a City a Community of Freemen, meaning every particular Citizen to be free. Not that every particular man had a liberty to resist his Governour or do what he list, but a Liberty only for particular men, *to Govern* and *to be governed* by turns, ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι are *Aristotles* words: this was a liberty not to be found in hereditary Monarchies: so *Tacitus* mentioning the severall governments of *Rome*, joyns the Consulship and Liberty to be brought in by *Brutus*, because by the annuall election of Consuls, particular Citizens came in their course to govern and to be governed. This may be confirmed by the complaint of our Author which followeth. *It is an easie thing for men to be deceived by the specious name of Liberty: and for want of judgement to distinguish, mistake that for their private inheritance or birth-right which is the right of the publique only. And when the same error is confirmed by the authority of men in reputation for their writings in this subject, it is no wonder if it produce sedition and change of government. In the Western parts of the World we are made to receive our opinions concerning the institution and right of Common-wealths from Aristotle and Cicero, and other men, Greeks and Romans, that living under popular estates, derived those rights not from the principles of Nature, but transcribed them into their Books out of the practise of their own Common-wealths, which were Popular.* And *because the Athenians were taught* (to keep them from desire of *changing their government*) *that they were free-men, and all that*

lived under Monarchy Slaves: therefore Aristotle *puts it down in his Politicks. In Domocracie Liberty is to be supposed, for it's commonly held that no man is Free in any other Government. So* Cicero *and other writers grounded their civill doctrine on the opinions of the* Romans, *who were taught to hate Monarchy, at first, by them that having deposed their Soveraign, shared amongst them the Soveraignty of* Rome. *And by reading of these* Greek *and* Latine *Authors, men from their childhood have gotten a habit (under a false shew of Liberty, of favouring tumults, and of licentious controwling the actions of their Soveraigns.*

XI.

Pag. 102. *Dominion paternal not attained by Generation but by contract*, which is the *Childs consent either expresse or by other sufficient arguments declared.* How a Child can expresse consent, or by other sufficient arguments declare it before it comes to the age of discretion I understand not, yet all men grant it is due before consent can be given, and I take it Mr. *Hobs* is of the same minde, Pag. 249. where he teacheth that *Abrahams Children were bound to obey what Abraham should declare to them for Gods law: which they could not be but in vertue of the obedience they owed to their Parents*; they owed, not they covenanted to give. Also where he saith the Pag. 121. *Father and Master being before the institution of Commonweals absolute Soveraigns in their own Families*, how can it be said that either Children or Servants were in the state of *jus naturæ* till the institutions of Common-weals? It is said by Mr. *Hobs* in his Book *De Cive*, *cap. 9. Section 7.* the *Mother originally hath the government of her Children, and from her the Father derives his right, because she brings forth and first nourisheth them.* But we know that God at the Creation gave the Soveraignty to the man over the Woman, as being the nobler and principal agent in generation. As to the objection that *it is not known who is the Father to the Son but by the discovery of the mother*; and that *he is his Son whom the mother will, and therefore he is the mothers.* The answer is, that it is not at the will of the mother to make whom she will the Father. for if the Mother be not in the possession of a Husband, the Child is not reckoned to have any Father at all; but if she

shee be in the possession of a man, the Child notwithstanding whatsoever the woman discovereth to the contrary, is still reputed to be his in whose possession she is. No child naturally and infallibly knowes who are his true Parents, yet he must obey those that in common reputation are so, otherwise the Commandement of *Honour thy Father and thy Mother* were vain, and no Child bound to the obedience of it.

XII.

If the government of one man, and the government of two men, make two severall kindes of government, why may not the government of two, and the government of three, doe the like, and make a third? and so every differing number a differing kind of Common-wealth. *If an assembly of all* (as M. *Hobs* saith) *that will come together be a Democraty*, and *an assembly of a part onely an Aristocratie*, *then* if all that will come together be but a part onely, a *Democratie* and *Aristocratie* are all one; and why must an assembly of part be called an *Aristocratie* and not a *Merocratie*? 94.

It seems Master *Hobs* is of the minde that there is but one kind of Government, and that is Monarchy, for he defines a *Common-wealth to be one person, and an Assembly of men or reall Unity of them all in one and the same person, the multitude so united he calls a Common-wealth*: This his moulding of a multitude into one person, is the generation of his great *Leviathan*, the King of the Children of Pride: thus he concludes the person of a Common-wealth to be a Monarch. 87. Pag. 167.

XIII.

I cannot but wonder Master *Hobs* should say, *the consent of a Subject to Soveraign power is conteined in these words, I Authorise, and do take upon me all his Actions, in which there it no restriction at all of his own former natural liberty*. Surely here Master *Hobs* forgot himself, for before he makes the resignation to goe in these words also, *I give up my right of governing my self to this man*: This is a restriction certainly of his own former naturall liberty when he gives it away: and if a man allow his Sovera gn Pag. 112.

to kill him, which Master *Hobs* seems to confesse, how can he reserve a right to defend himself? And if a man have a power and right to kill himself, he doth not authorise and give up his right to his Soveraign, if he doe not obey him when he commands him to kill himself.

XIV.

Pag. 112. Mr. *Hobs* saith, *no man is bound by the words themselves of his submission to kill himself, or any other man: & consequently that the obligation a man may sometimes have upon the command of the Soveraign to execute any dangerous or dishonorable office, dependeth not on the words of our submission but on the intention which is to be understood by the end thereof. When therefore our refusall to obey, frustrates the end for which the Soveraignty was ordained, then there is no liberty to refuse: otherwise there is.* If no man be bound by the words of his Subjection to kill any other man, then a Soveraign may be denyed the benefit of war, and be rendred unable to defend his people, and so the end of government frustrated. If the obligation upon the Commands of a Soveraign to execute a dangerous or dishonourable office, depends not on the words of our Submission, but on the intention, which is to be understood by the end thereof; No man, by Master *Hobs* rules, is bound but by the words of his submission, the intention of the Command bindes not, if the words doe not: If the intention should bind, it is necessary the Soveraign must discover it, and the people must dispute and judge it, which how well it may consist with the Rights of Soveraignty Master *Hobs* may consider: whereas Master *Hobs* saith the *Intention is to be understood by the End*, I take it he means the end by effect, for the end and the intention are one and the same thing, and if he mean the effect, the obedience must goe before, and not depend on the understanding of the effect, which can never be, if the obedience doe not precede it: In fine, he resolves refusall to obey, may depend upon the judging of what frustrates the end of Soveraignty and what not, of which he cannot mean any other Judge but the people.

XV.

XV.

M. *Hobs* puts a case by way of question. *A great many men together have already resisted the Soveraign power unjustly, or committed some capitall crime, for which every one of them expecteth death: whether have they not the liberty then to joyn together and assist and defend one another? certainly they have, for they but defend their lives, which the guilty man may as well do as the innocent: There was indeed injustice in the first breach of their duty, their bearing of arms subsequent to it, though it be to maintain what they have done, is no new unjust act, and if it be only to defend their persons, it is not unjust at all.* The only reason here alledged for the bearing of arms is this, that it is no new unjust act, as if the beginning only of a rebellion were an unjust act, and the continuance of it none at all: No better answer can be given to this case then what the Authour himselfe hath delivered in the beginning of the same Paragraph in these words; *To resist the sword of the Common-wealth in defence of another man, guilty or innocent, no man hath liberty: because such liberty takes away from the Soveraign the means of protecting us, & is therefore destructive of the very Essence of government.* Thus he first answers the question, and then afterwards makes it and gives it a contrary answer; other passages I meet with to the like purpose. He saith *a man cannot lay down the right of resisting them that assault him by force to take away his life: The same may be said of wounds, chains and imprisonment. A covenant to defend my self from force by force is void. Right of defending life and means of living can never be abandoned.* Pag. 112. Pag. 66. Pag. 69. Pag. 68.

These last doctrines are destructive to all Government whatsoever, and even to the *Leviathan* it selfe: hereby any rogue or villain may murder his Soveraign, if the Soveraign but offer by force to whip or lay him in the stocks, since whipping may be said to be a wounding, and putting in the stocks an imprisonment: so likewise every mans goods being a means of living, if a man cannot abandon them, no contract among men, be it never so just, can be observed: thus we are at least in as miserable a condition of warre as M. *Hobs* at first by nature found us.

XVI.

XVI.

Pag. 216. *The Kingdom of God signifies*, saith Master Hobs, *a Kingdome constituted by the votes of the people of* Israel *in a peculiar manner, wherein they choose God for their King by Covenant made with him, upon Gods promising them* Canaan. If we look upon Master *Hobs* text for this it will be found that the people did not constitute by Votes, and choose God for their King. But by the appointment first of God himselfe the Covenant was to be a God to them: they did not contract with God, that if he would give them *Canaan*, they would be his Subjects, and he should be their King; It was not in their power to choose whether God should be their God, yea, or nay; for it is confessed *he reigned naturally over all by his might*. If God reigned naturally, he had a Kingdom, and Soveraign power over his Subjects, not acquired by their own consent. This Kingdom said to be constituted by the Votes of the people of *Israel*, is but the Vote of *Abraham* only, his single voyce carried it, he was the representative of the people. For at this Vote, it is confessed that the name of *King* is not given to God, nor of *Kingdom* to *Abraham*, yet the thing if we will beleeve Master *Hobs* is all one. If a Contract be the mutuall transferring of Right, I would know what Right a people can have to transfer to God by Contract. Had the people of *Israel* at Mount *Sinai* a right not to obey Gods voyce? If they had not such a right, what had they to transfer?

The Covenant mentioned at Mount *Sinai* was but a Conditionall Contract, and God but a Conditionall King, and though the people promised to obey Gods word, yet it was more then they were able to perform, for they oft disobeyed Gods voyce, which being a breach of the Condition the Covenant was voyd, and God not their King by Contract.

It is complained by God, *They have rejected me that I should raign over them*: but it is not said according to their contract; for I doe not finde that the desiring of a King was a breach of their Contract of Covenant, or disobedience to the voyce of God: there is no such law extant.

The people did not totally reject the Lord, but in part onely, out of timorousnesse, when they saw *Nahash* King of the children of *Ammon* come against them, they distrusted that God would

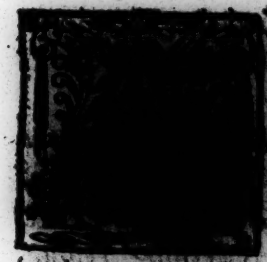
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not suddenly provide for their deliverance, as if they had had always a King in readiness to go up presently to fight for them: This despair in them who had found so many miraculous deliverances under Gods Government, was that which offended the Lord so highly; they did not desire an alteration of Government, and to cast off Gods Laws, but hoped for a certainer and speedier deliverance from danger in time of war. They did not petition that they might choose their King themselves, that had been a greater sin, and yet if they had, it had not been a total rejection of Gods reigning over them, as long as they desired not to depart from the worship of God their King, and from the obedience of his Laws. I see not that the Kingdome of God was cast off by the election of *Saul*, since *Saul* was chosen by God himself, and Governed according to Gods Laws. The Government from *Abraham* to *Saul* is no where called the Kingdome of God, nor is it said that the Kingdome of God was cast off at the election of *Saul*.

Mr. *Hobs* allows, that *Moses alone had next under God the Soveraignty over the Israelites*, p. 252. but he doth not allow it to *Joshua*, but will have it descend to *Eleazar* the High-Priest, *Aarons* son. His proof is, God expressly saith concerning *Joshua*, *He shall stand before Eleazar, who shall ask counsel from him before the Lord*, (after the judgement of *Urim* is omitted by Mr. *Hobs*) *at his word shall they go out*, &c. therefore the *Supreme power of making Peace and War was in the Priest*. Answ. The work of the High-Priest was onely *Ministerial*, not *Magisterial*; he had no power to command in warre, or to judge in Peace; onely when the Soveraigne or Governour did goe up to Warre, he enquired of the Lord by the Ministery of the High Priest, and as the Hebrews say, the enquirer with a soft voice as one that prayeth for himself, asked; and forthwith the holy Ghost came upon the Priest, and he beheld the Brest-plate, and saw therein by the Vision of Prophecy, *Goe up*, or *goe not up*, in the letters that shewed forth themselves upon the Brest-plate before his face; then the Priest answered him, *Go up*, or *Go not up*. If this answer gave the Priest the Soveraignty, then neither King *Saul* nor King *David* had the Soveraignty, who both asked counsel of the Lord by the Priest.

OBSERVATIONS
ON
Master MILTON
againſt SALMASIUS.

I.



AMong the many Printed Books, and ſeverall Diſcourſes touching the Right of *Kings*, and the Liberty of the *People*, I cannot finde that as yet the firſt and chief point is agreed upon, or indeed ſo much as once Diſputed. The word *King* and the word *People* are familiar, one would think every ſimple man could tell what they ſignified; but upon examination it will be found, that the learnedſt cannot agree of their meaning.

Aſk *Suhmaſius* what a King is, and he will teach us that *a King is he who hath the Supreme power of the Kingdome, and is accountable to none but God, and may do what he pleaſe, and is free from the Laws.* This definition *Milt.* abominates as being the definition of a Tyrant: And I ſhould be of his minde, if he would have vouchſafed us a better, or any other definition at all, that would tell us how any King can have a Supreme Power, without being freed from humane Laws: To finde fault with it, without producing any other, is to fight vainly in the dark: But though Mr. *M.* brings us neither Definition nor Deſcription of a King, yet we may pick out of ſeverall paſſages of him, ſomething like a definition, if we lay them together. Firſt he teacheth us that *power was therefore given to a King by the people, that he might ſee by the authority in him committed, that nothing be done againſt Law, unleſs but he keeps our Laws, and not impoſe upon us his own: Therefore there-*

is no regal power but in the Courts of the Kingdome, and by them, pag. 155.

And again he affirmeth, *the King cannot Imprison, Fine or punish any man, except he be first cited into some Court; where not the King, but the usual Judges give Sentence*, pag. 168. and before we are told, *not the King, but the Authority of Parliament doth set up and take away all Courts*, pag. 167.

Lo here the description of a King. He is *one to whom the People give power, to see that nothing be done against Law*; and yet he saith there is *no regal power but in the Courts of Justice and by them, where not the King, but the usual Judges give Sentence.* This description not only strips the King of all power whatsoever, but puts him in a condition below the meanest of his Subjects.

Thus much may shew, that all men are not agreed what a King is. Next, what the word *People* means is not agreed upon: ask *Aristotle* what the People is, & he will not allow any power to be in any but in free Citizens. If we demand who be free Citizens? that he cannot resolve us, for he confesseth that *he that is a free Citizen in one City, is not so in another City.* And he is of opinion that *no artificer should be a free Citizen, or have voice in a well ordered Commonwealth*; he accounts a *Democratie* (which word signifies the Government of the people) *to be a Corrupted sort of Government*; he thinks *many men by nature born to be Servants, and not fit to govern at any part of the people.* Thus doth *Aristotle* curtal the people, and cannot give us no certain rule to know who be the people: Come to our Modern Politicians, and ask them who the people is, though they talk big of the people, yet they take up, and are content with a *few Representers* (as they call them) *of the whole people*; a point *Aristotle* was to seek in, neither are these Representors stood upon to be the whole people, but the *major part of these Representors must be reckoned for the whole people*; nay *J. M.* will not allow the major part of the Representors to be the people, but the *sounder and better part only* of them, & in right down terms he tells us *to determine who is a Tyrant, he leaves to Magistrates, at least to the uprighter sort of them and of the people, though in number less by many, to judge as they finde cause.* If the *sounder, the better, and the uprighter* part have the power of the people, how shall we know, or who shall judge who they be? P. 126. P. 7.

II.

One Text is urged by Mr. *Milton*, for the peoples power: Deut. 17. 14. *When thou art come into the land which thy Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as all the Nations about me.* It is said, by the tenure of Kings *these words confirm us that the right of choosing, yea of changing their own Government, is by the Grant of God himself in the people:* But can the foretelling or forewarning of the *Israelites* of a wanton and wicked desire of theirs, which God Himself condemned, be made an argument that God gave or granted them a right to do such a wicked thing? or can the narration and reproving of a future fact be a donation and approving of a present right, or the permission of a sin be made a commission for the doing of it? the Author in his Book against *Salmasius*, falls from making God the Donor or Grantor, that he cites him onely for a Witness, *Teste ipso Deo penes populos arbitrium semper fuisse, vel ea quæ placerent formare resp. utendi, vel hanc in aliam mutandi; de Hebræis hoc diserte dicit Deus: de reliquis non abnuit.*

That here in this Text *God himself being witness, there was alwayes a power in the people, either to use what form of Government they pleased, or of changing it into another: God saith this expresly of the* Hebrews, *and denies it not of others.* Can any man finde that God in this Text expresly saith, that there was alwayes a right in the People, to use what form of Government they please? The Text not warranting this right of the People, the foundation of the defence of the People is quite taken away; there being no other grant or proof of it pretended.

2. Where it is said that *the Israelites desired a King, though then under another form of Government*; in the next line but one it is confessed they had a King at the time when they desired a King, which was God himself, and his Viceroy *Samuel*, and so saith God, *They have not rejected thee; but they have rejected me that I should not reign over them*: yet in the next verse God saith, *as they have forsaken me, so do they also unto thee.* Here is no shew of any other form of Government but Monarchy: God by the mediation of *Samuel* reigned, who made his Sons Judges over *Israel*;

Israel; when one man constitutes Judges, we may call him a King; or if the having of Judges do alter the Government, then the Government of every Kingdome is altered from Monarchy, where Judges are appointed by Kings: it is now reckoned one of the duties of Kings to judge by their Judges onely.

Where it is said, *He shal not multiply to himself horses, nor wives nor Riches, that he might understand that he had no power over others, who could decree nothing of himself, extra legem*, if it had said *contra legem Dei*, it had been true, but if it meant *extra legem humanam*, it is false.

4. If there had been any right given to the People, it seems it was to the Elders onely; for it is said it was the Elders of *Israel* gathered together, petitioned for a King, it is not said it was all the People, nor that the People did choose the Elders, who were the Fathers and Heads of Families authorized by the Judges.

5. Where it is said, *I will set a King over me like as all the Nations about me. To set a King*, is, not to choose a King, but by some solemn publick act of Coronation, or otherwise to acknowledge their allegiance to the King chosen; It is said, thou shalt *set him King whom the Lord thy God shall choose*. The Elders did not desire to choose a King like other Nations, but they say, *now make us a King to judge us like all the Nations*.

III.

As for *Davids* Covenant with the Elders when he was annointed, it was not to observe any Laws or Conditions made by the People, for ought appears; but to keep Gods Laws and serve him, and to seek the good of the People, as they were to protect him.

6. The *Reubenites* and *Gadites* promise their obedience, not according to their Laws or Conditions agreed upon, but in these words, *All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendst us we will go, as we harkned to Moses in all things, so will we harken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee as he was with Moses*. Where is there any condition of any humane Law expressed? Though the rebellious Tribes offered Conditions to *Rehoboam*: where can we find that *for like conditions not performed*,

ed, all Israel deposed Samuel? I wonder Mr. *M.* should say this, when within a few lines after he professeth that *Samuel had Governed them uprightly.*

IV.

Jus Regni is much stumbled at, and the definition of a King, which saith *His power is supreme in the Kingdome, and he is accountable to none but to God, and that he may do what he please, and is not bound by Laws*: it is said if this definition be good, no man
P.14. is or ever was, who may be said to be a Tyrant, for *when he hath violated all divine and humane Laws, nevertheless he is a King, and guiltless jure Regio.* To this may be answered, That the definition confesseth he is accountable to God, and therefore not guiltless if he violate Divine Laws: Humane Laws must not be shuffled in with Divine, they are not of the same authority: if humane Laws binde a King, it is impossible for him to have supreme power amongst men. If any man can finde us out such a kinde of Government, wherein the supreme power can be, without being freed from humane Laws, they should first teach us that; but if all sorts of popular Government that can be invented, cannot be one minute, without an Arbitrary power, freed from all humane Laws: what reason can be given why a royal Government should not have the like freedom? if it be tyranny for one man to govern arbitrarily, why should it not be farre greater tyranny for a multitude of men to govern without being accountable or bound by Laws? It would be further enquired how it is possible for any Government at all to be in the World without an arbitrary power; it is not power except it be arbitrary: a legislative power cannot be without being absolved from humane Laws, it cannot be shewed how a King can have any power at all but an arbitrary power. We are taught, that *power was therefore given to a King by the People, that he might see by the authority to him committed, that nothing be done against Law, and that he keep our Laws, and not impose upon us his own: therefore there is no royal Power, but in the Courts of the Kingdome, and by them*, p.155. and again it is said, *the King cannot imprison, fine or punish any man except he be first cited into some Court, where not the King but the usual Judges give sentence,*
p.168.

p.168. and before we are told *not the* King, *but the Authority of* Parliament *doth set up and take away all Courts*, p.167.

Lo here we have Mr. *Miltons* perfect definition of a King. He is one to whom the People gave *power to see that nothing be done against Law, and that he keep our Laws, and not impose his own.* Whereas all other men have the faculty of seeing by nature, th King onely hath it by the gift of the People, other power he hath none; he may see the Judges keep the Laws if they will; he cannot compel them, for he may not imprison, fine, nor punish any man, the Courts of Justice may, and they are set up and put down by the Parliament: yet in this very definition of a King, we may spy an arbitrary power in the King, for he may wink if he will: and no other power doth this description of a King give, but onely a power to see: whereas it is said *Aristotle doth mention an absolute Kingdome, for no other cause, but to shew how absurd, unjust and most tyrannical it is*: There is no such thing said by *Aristotle*, but the contrary, where he saith, that *a King according to Law makes no sort of Government*; and after he had reckoned up five sorts of Kings, he concludes that there were in a manner but two sorts, the *Lacedemonian* King, and the absolute King; whereof the first was but as a General in an Army, and therefore no King at all, and then fixes and rests upon the *absolute King, who ruleth according to his own will.*

V.

If it be demanded what is meant by this word *People?* 1. Sometimes it is *populus universus*, and then every childe must have his consent asked, which is impossible. 2. Sometimes it is *pars major*, and sometimes it is *pars potior & sanior*; How the major part, where all are alike free, can binde the minor part, is not yet proved.

But it seems the major part will not carry it, nor be allowed, except they be the *better part and the sounder part.* We are told, *the sounder part implored the help of the Army, when it saw it self and the Commonwealth betrayed*; and that the *Souldiers judged better then the Great Councell, and by Arms saved the Commonwealth, which the Great Councell had almost damned by their Votes*, p.7.

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Here we see what the *People* is; to wit, *the founder part, of which the Army is the judge*: thus upon the matter the Souldiers are the People: which being so, we may discern where the liberty of the People lieth, which we are taught to consist *all for the most part in the power of the Peoples choosing what form of Government they please.* A miserable liberty, which is onely to choose to whom we will give our liberty, which we may not keep. See more concerning the People, in a Book entituled *The Anarchy*, p. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Pag. 61.

VI.

We are taught that *a Father and a King are things most divers. The Father begets us, But not the King; but we create the King: Nature gives a Father to the People, the People give themselves a King: If the Father kill his Son he loseth his life, why should not the King also?* p. 34.

Ans. Father and King are not so divers; it is confessed that at first they were all one, for there is confessed *Paternum imperium & hereditarium*, p. 141. and this fatherly empire as it was of it self *hereditary*; so it was *alienable* by the Patent, and *seizable* by an usurper as other goods are: and thus every King that now is hath a Paternal Empire, either by Inheritance, or by Translation or Usurpation, so a Father and a King may be all one.

A Father may dye for the murther of his Son, where there is a superior Father to them both, or the right of such a supreme Father; but where there are onely Father and Sons, no Sons can question the Father for the death of their brother: the reason why a King cannot be punished, is not because he is exempted from punishment, or doth not deserve it, but because there is no superior to judge him, but God onely, to whom he is reserved.

VII.

It is said thus, *He that takes away from the People the power of choosing for themselves what form of Government they please, he doth take away that wherein all civil liberty almost consists*, p. 65. If almost all liberty be in choosing of the kinde of Government, the

the people have but a poor bargain of it, who cannot exercise their liberty, but in chopping and changing their Government, & have liberty onely to give away their liberty, then which there is not a greater mischief, as being the cause of endless Sedition.

VIII.

If there be any Statute in our Law, by which thou canst find that Tyrannical power is given to a King, that Statute being contrary to Gods will, to nature and reason, understand that by that general and primary law of ours, that Statute to be repealed and not of force with us, p. 153. Here if any man may be judge, what Law is contrary to Gods will, or to nature, or to reason, it will soon bring in confusion: Most men that offend, if they be to be punished or fined, will think that Statute that gives all Fines and Forfeitures to a King, to be a Tyrannical Law; thus most Statutes would be judged void, and all our forefathers taken for fools or madmen, to make all our Laws to give all penalties to the King.

IX.

The sin of the children of *Israel* did lie, not in desiring a King, but in desiring such a King, like as the Nations round about had; they distrusted God Almighty that governed them by the Monarchical power of *Samuel*, in time of oppression, when God provided a Judge for them; but they desired a perpetual and an hereditary King, that they might never want: in desiring a King they could not sin, for it was but desiring what they enjoyed by Gods special Providence.

X.

Men are perswaded that in the making of a Covenant, something is to be performed on both parts by mutual stipulation, which is not alwayes true: for we finde God made *a Covenant with* Noah *and his seed, with all the fowl and the cattel, not to destroy the earth any more by a flood.* This Covenant was to be kept on Gods part, neither *Noah*, nor the fowl, nor the cattel, were to perform any thing by this Covenant. On the other side, *Gen* 17. 9,10. God covenants with *Abraham*, saying, *Thou shalt keep my Covenant——every male child among you shall be circumcised.* Here it is called Gods Covenant, though it be to be performed

onely by *Abraham*; so a Covenant may be called the Kings Covenant, because it is made to him, and yet to be performed onely by the people. So also, 2 *Kin.* 11. 17. *Jehoiada made a Covenant between the Lord and the King and the people, that they should be the Lords people.* Between the *King also and the People*, which might well be, that the people should be the Kings servants: and not for the Kings covenanting to keep any Humane Laws, for it is not likely the King should either Covenant, or take any Oath to the people when he was but seven years of age, and that never any King of *Israel* took a Coronation Oath that can be shewed: when *Jehoiada* shewed the King to the Rulers in the house of the Lord, he took an Oath of the People: he did not article with them, but, saith the next verse, *Commanded them to keep a watch of the Kings house, and that they should compass the King round about, every man with his weapon in his hand, and he that cometh within the ranges, let him be slain.*

XI.

To the Text, *Where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say to him, What dost thou?* J. M. gives this answer, *It is apparent enough that the Preacher in this place gives precepts to every private man, not to the great Sanedrin, nor to the Senate: — shall not the Nobles, shall not all the other Magistrates, shall not the whole People dare to mutter, so oft as the King pleases to do so?* We must here note, that the great Councel, and all other Magistrates or Nobles, or the whole People compared to the King, are all but private men, if they derive their power from him: they are Magistrates under him, and out of his presence, for when he is in place, they are but so many private men. *J. M.* asks, *Who sweareth to a King, unless the King on the other side be sworn to keep Gods Laws, and the Laws of the Country?* We finde that the Rulers of *Israel* took an Oath at the Coronation of *Jehoash*. But we finde no Oath taken by that King, no not so much as to Gods Laws, much less to the Laws of the Country.

XII.

A Tyrant is he who regarding neither Law, nor the Common Good, reigns onely for himself and his faction, p. 19. in his defence he

he expresseth himself thus, *He is a Tyrant who looks after onely his own, and not his peoples profit*, Eth. l. 10. p. 189.

1. If it be Tyranny not to regard the Law, then all Courts of Equity, and pardons for any offences must be taken away: there are far more sutes for relief against the Laws, then there be for the observation of the Laws: there can be no such Tyranny in the world as the Law, if there were no equity to abate the rigor of it. *Summum jus* is *Summa injuria*, if the penalties and forfeitures of all Laws should still be exacted by all Kings, it would be found that greatest Tyranny would be for a King to govern according to Law, the Fines, Penalties and Forfeitures of all Laws are due to the Supreme Power onely, and were they duly paid, they would far exceed the Taxes in all places. It is the chief happiness of a Kingdome, and their chief Liberty, not to be governed by the Laws onely.

2. *Not to regard the Common Good, but to reign onely for himself*, is the supposition of an impossibility in the judgement of *Aristotle*, who teacheth us, that *the despotical power cannot be preserved, except the Servant or he in subjection be also preserved.* The truth of this strongly proves, That it is in nature impossible to have a form of Government that can be for the destruction of a people, as Tyranny is supposed; if we will allow people to be governed, we must grant they must in the first place be preserved, or else they cannot be governed.

Kings have been and may be vitious men, and the Government of one, not so good as the Government of another; yet it doth not follow that the form of Government is or can be in its own nature ill, because the Governour is so: it is Anarchy or want of Government, that can totally destroy a Nation. We cannot finde any such Government as Tyranny mentioned or named in Scripture, or any word in the Hebrew Tongue to express it. After such time as the Cities of *Greece* practised to shake off Monarchy, then and not till then (which was after *Homers* time) the name of Tyrant was taken up for a word of disgrace, for such men as by craft or force wrested the power of a City from a multitude, to one man onely; and not for the *exercising*, but for the ill *obtaining* of the Government: but now every man that is but thought to govern ill, or to be an ill man, is presently termed a

Tyrant, and ſo judged by his Subjects. Few remember the prohibition, *Exod.*22.28. *Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods, nor curſe the Ruler of thy people:* and fewer underſtand the reaſon of it. Though we may not one judge another, yet we may ſpeak evil or revile one another, in that which hath been lawfully judged, and upon a Tryal wherein they have been heard and condemned: this is not to judge, but onely to relate the judgement of the Ruler. To ſpeak evil or to revile a Supreme Judge, cannot be without judging him who hath no Superior on earth to judge him, and in that regard muſt alwayes be preſumed innocent, though never ſo ill, if he cannot lawfully be heard.

I.M. That will have it Tyranny in a King not to regard the Laws, doth himſelf give as little regard to them as any man, where he reckons that *conteſting for Priviledges, Cuſtoms, Forms; and that old entanglement of Iniquity, their gibriſh Laws, are the badges of ancient Slavery*, Tenure, pag. 3. *a diſputing Preſidents, Forms and Circumſtances*, pag. 5.

I.M. is alſo of opinion, that *If at any time our Fore-fathers out of baſeneſs have loſt any thing of their right, that ought not hurt us, they might if they would promiſe Slavery for themſelves, for us certainly they could not, who have alwayes the ſame right to free our ſelves, that they had to give themſelves to any man in ſlavery.* This Doctrine well practiſed, layeth all open to conſtant Anarchy.

Laſtly, if any deſire to know what the liberty of the People is which *I.M.* pleads for, he reſolves us, ſaying, that *he that takes away from the people, the right of chooſing what form of Government they pleaſe, takes away truly that in which all liberty doth almoſt conſiſt.* It is well ſaid by *I.M.* that all liberty doth almoſt conſiſt in chooſing their form of Government, for there is another liberty exerciſed by the people, which he mentions not, which is the liberty of the peoples chooſing their Religion; every man may be of any Religion, or of no Religion; *Greece* and *Rome* have been as famous for *Polytheiſme*, or multitudes of gods, as of Governors, and imagining Ariſtocraty and Democraty in Heaven, as on Earth.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS
UPON
H. GROTIUS
De Jure Belli, & Pacis.

IN moſt queſtions of weight and difficulty concerning the right of War, or Peace, or Supreme Power, *Grotius* hath recourſe to the Law of Nature or of Nations, or to the Primitive will of thoſe men who firſt joyned in Society. It is neceſſary therefore a little to lay open the variety or contrariety in the Civil and Canon law, and in *Grotius* himſelf, about the law of Nature and Nations, not with a purpoſe to raiſe any Contention about words or phraſes, but with a deſire to reconcile or expound the ſenſe of different terms.

Civilians, *Canoniſts*, *Polititians*, and *Divines*, are not a little perplexed in diſtinguiſhing between the law of *Nature* and the law of *Nations*; about *Jus Naturæ*, and *Jus Gentium*, there is much Diſpute by ſuch as handle the Original of Government, and of *Property* and *Community*.

The Civil law in one Text allows a threefold diviſion of *Law* into *Ius Naturæ*, *Ius Gentium*, and *Jus Civile*. But in another Text of the ſame law, we finde onely a twofold diviſion into *Jus Civile* and *Jus Gentium*. This latter diviſion the Law takes from *Gaius*, the former from *Ulpian*, who will have *Ius Naturale* to be *that which nature hath taught all creatures*, *quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*, but for this he is confuted by *Grotius*, *Salmaſius*, and others, who reſtrain the Law of Nature one-

ly

ly to *men using Reason*; which makes it all one with the *Law of Nations*, to which the Canon Law consents, and saith, That *Jus Naturale est commune omnium nationum*: *That which Natural Reason appoints all men to use, is the Law of Nations*, saith *Theophilus* in the Text of the Civil Law: and in the second book of the *Instit. cap.* 1. *Jus Naturæ* is confounded with *Jus Gentium*.

As the *Civilians* sometimes confound and sometimes separate the Law of *Nature* and the Law of *Nations*, so other-whiles they make them also contrary one to the other. *By the Law of Nature all men are born free*; *Jure naturali omnes liberi nascuntur*. But *Servitude is by the Law of Nations*: *Jure Gentium servitus invasit*, saith *Ulpian*.

And the Civil Law not only makes the Law of *Nature* and of *Nations* contrary, but also will have the Law of Nations contrary to it self. *War*, saith the Law, *was brought in by the law of Nations*. *Ex jure gentium introducta bella*, and yet the law of Nations saith, *Since Nature hath made us all of one Kindred, it follows it is not lawful for one man to lye in wait for another*. *Cum inter nos cognitionem quandam natura constituit, consequens est hominem homini insidiari nefas esse*, saith *Florentinus*.

Again, the Civil Law teacheth, that *from the law of Nature proceeds the conjunction of man and woman, the procreation and education of Children*. But as for *Religion to God, and Obedience to Parents*, it makes it to be *by the law of Nations*.

To touch now the *Canon Law*, we may finde in one place that *men are governed either by the law of Nature or by Customes*. *Homines reguntur Naturali jure aut moribus*. The *law of Nature* they call *a Divine law, the Customes a Humane law*; *Leges aut divinæ sunt aut humanæ, divina naturâ humana moribus constant*. But in the next place the Canon law makes *Jus* to be either *Naturale, aut Civile, aut Gentium*. Though this division agree in terms with that of *Ulpian* in the Civil law, yet in the explication of the terms there is diversity; for what one law makes to belong to the law of *Nature*, the other refers to the law of *Nations*, as may easily appear to him that will take the pains to compare the Civil and Canon law in these points.

A principal ground of these diversities and contrarieties of divisions, was an error which the Heathens taught, that *all things*

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at first were common, and that *all men were equal*. This mistake was not so heinous in those Ethnick Authors of the Civil Laws, who wanting the guide of the History of *Moses*, were fain to follow Poets and Fables for their Leaders. But for Christians, who have read the Scriptures, to dream either of a *Community of all things*, or *an equality of all persons*, is a fault scarce pardonable.

To salve these apparent contrarieties of *Community* and *Propriety*; of *Equality* and *Subjection*: the law of *Jus Gentium* was first invented; when that could not satisfie, to mend the matter, this *Jus Gentium* was divided into a *Natural law of Nations*, & *an Humane law of Nations*; & the law of nature into a *Primary* and a *Secondary* law of nature; distinctions which make a great sound, but edifie not at all if they come under examination.

If there hath been a time when All things were common, and All men equal, and that it be otherwise now; we must needs conclude that the law by which all things were common, and men equal, was contrary to the law by which now things are proper, and men subject.

If we will allow *Adam* to have been Lord of the World and of his Children, there will need no such distinctions of the law of Nature and of Nations: For the truth will be, that whatsoever the Heathens comprehended under these two laws, is comprised in the Moral Law.

That the law of Nature is one and the same with the Moral, may appear by a definition given by *Grotius*. The *law of Nature* (saith he) *is the dictate of Reason, shewing that in every action by the agreeing or disagreeing of it with natural reason, there is a moral honesty or dishonesty, and consequently that such an action is commanded or forbidden by God the Author of Nature.* I cannot tell how *Grotius* would otherwise have defined the Moral Law. And the Gospel law grants as much, teaching that *the law of Nature is contained in the Law and the Gospel: Whatsoever ye will that men do, &c. Matt. 7.*

The terms of *Jus naturæ* is not originally to be found in Scripture: for though *T. Aquinas* takes upon him to prove out of the 2. to the *Romans* that there is a *Jus Naturæ*, yet S. *Paul* doth not use those express terms, his words are, *The Gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having*

having not the law are a law unto themselves: He doth not say, Nature is a law unto them, but they are a law unto themselves. As for that which they call the law of *Nations*, it is not a law distinct, much lesse opposite to the law of *Nature*, but it is a small branch or parcell of that great law, for it is nothing but the law of Nature, or the morall law betweene Nations. The same Commandement that forbids one private man to rob another, or one Corporation to hurt another Corporation, obliges also one King not to rob another King, and one Common-wealth not to spoil another: the same law that enjoynes Charity to all men, even to enemies, binds Princes and States to shew charity to one another as well as private persons.

And as the *Common, or Civill lawes* of each Kingdome which are made against Treason, theft, murder, adultery or the like, are all, and every one of them grounded upon some particular commandement of the morall Law; so all the lawes of Nations must be subordinate and reducible to the morall law.

The law of Nature or the morall law is like the maine Ocean, which though it be one entire body, yet severall parts of it have distinct names, according to the diversity of the Coasts on which they border. So it comes to passe that the law of Nations, which is but a part of the law of Nature, may be sub-divided almost *in infinitum* according to the variety of the persons, or matters about which it is conversant.

The law of Nature or the Divine law is generall, and doth only comprehend some principles of morality notoriously knowne of themselves, or at the most is extended to those things which by necessary and evident inference are consequent to those Principles. Besides these, many other things are necessary to the well-governing of a Commonwealth: and therefore it was necessary that by Humane Reason something more in particular should be determined concerning those things which could not be defined by Natural Reason alone; hence it is that Humane Laws be necessary as Comments upon the Text of the Moral Law: and of this judgement is *Aquinas*, who teacheth that *necessitas legis humanæ manat ex eo, quod lex naturalis vel Divina generalis est, & solum complectitur quædam principia morum per se nota, & ad summum extenditur ad ea quæ necessaria & evidenti elatione ex illis*

illis principiis conſequuntur: præter illa vero multa alia ſunt neceſſaria in republica ad ejus rectam gubernationem: & ideo neceſſarium fuit ut per humanam rationem aliqua magis in particulari determinarentur circa ea quæ per ſolam rationem naturalem definiri non poſſunt. Ludo. Molin. de Iuſt. Thus much may ſuffice to ſhew the diſtractions in and between the *Civil* and *Common laws* about the law of *Nature* and *Nations*. In the next place we are to conſider how *Grotius* diſtinguiſheth theſe laws.

To maintain the Community of things to be Natural, *Grotius* hath framed new diviſions of the law of Nature. Firſt, in his Preface to his books *De Iure Belli & Pacis*, he produceth a definition of the law of Nature, in ſuch doubtful, obſcure, and reſerved terms, as if he were diffident of his undertaking: Next in his firſt Book and firſt Chapter he gives us another diſtribution, which differs from his doctrine in his Preface.

In his Preface his firſt Principle is, that the *Appetite of ſociety, that is to ſay, of Community, is an action proper to man.* Here he preſently corrects himſelf with an exception, that *ſome other creatures are found to deſire Society*; and withal he anſwers the objection thus, that *this deſire of Society in brute beaſts, comes from ſome external principle.* What he means by *Principium intelligens extrinſecum*, I underſtand not, nor doth he explain, nor is it material, nor is the argument he uſeth to any purpoſe; for admitting all he ſaith to be true, yet his principle fails, for the queſtion is not, from what principle this deſire of Society proceeds in beaſts, but whether there be ſuch a deſire, or no. Beſides, here he takes the Appetite of Society and Community to be all one, whereas many live in Society which live not in Community.

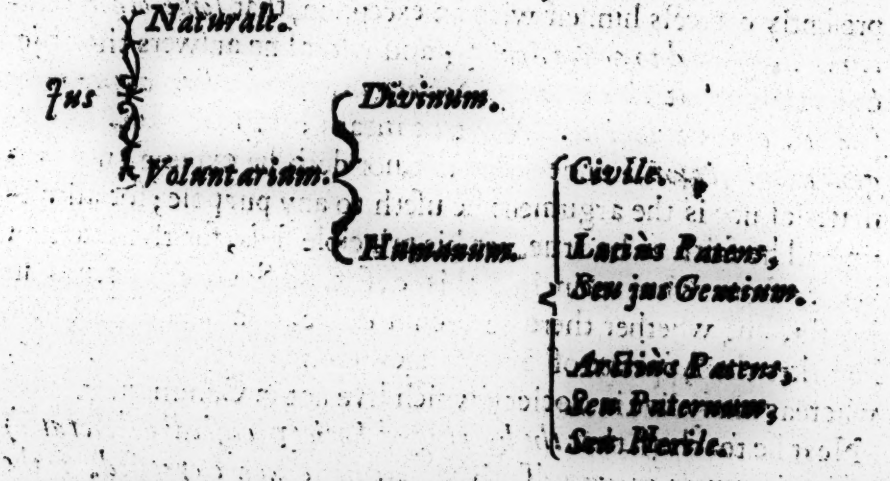
Next he teacheth that *the keeping of Society* (*cuſtodia ſocietatis*) *which in a rude manner* (ſaith he) *we have now expreſſed, is the fountain of that law which is properly ſo called.* I conceive by the law properly ſo called, he intends the law of Nature, though he expreſs not ſo much: And to this appetite of *ſociable Community* he refers *Alieni abſtinentia*, but herein it may be he forgets himſelf, for where there is *Community* there is neither *meum* nor *tuum*, nor yet *alienum*; and if there be no *alienum*, there can be no *alieni abſtinentia*. To the ſame purpoſe he ſaith, that by *the law of nature* men muſt *ſtand to bargains*, *Iuris naturæ ſit ſtare pactis.*

But if all things were common by Nature, how could there be any bargain?

Again, *Grotius* tells us, that *from this signification of the law there hath flowed another larger*, which consists (saith he) *in discerning what delights us or hurts us, and in judging how things should be wisely distributed to each one.* This latter he calls the *looser law of Nature*; the former, *jus strictum, the law of Nature strictly or properly taken. And these two laws of Nature, should have place* (saith he) *though men should deny there were a God. But to them that believe there is a God, there is another Original of law, beside the natural coming from the free will of God, to the which our own understanding tells us we must be subject.*

Thus have I gathered the substance of what is most material concerning the law of Nature in his Preface.

If we turn to the Book it self, we have a division of the law into



In the definition of *Jus Naturale* he omits those subtilties of *Jus Naturæ proprie dictum*, and *quod tacitus intelligitur*, which we finde in his Preface, and gives such a plain definition as may fitly agree to the Moral law. By this it seems the law of Nature and the Moral law are one and the same.

Whereas he affirmeth, that *the actions about which the law of nature is conversant, are lawful or unlawful of themselves, & therefore are necessarily commanded or forbidden by God*; which mark this

law

law of Nature doth not onely differ from Humane law, but from the Divine voluntary law, which doth not command or forbid those things, which of themselves and by their own nature are lawful or unlawful, but makes them unlawful by forbidding them, and due by commanding them. In this he seems to make *the law of Nature* to differ from *Gods Voluntary law*; whereas in God *Necessary* and *Voluntary* are all one. *Salmasius de Usuris* in the 20 Chapter condemns this opinion of *Grotius*; though he name him not, yet he means him, if I mistake not.

In the next place I observe his saying, that some things are by the law of Nature not *propriè*, but *reductivè*; and that the law of *Nature deals not onely with those things which are beside the will of Man, but also with many things which follow the act of mans will: so Dominion, such as is now in use, mans will brought in: but now that it is brought in, it is against the law of Nature, to take that from thee against thy will, which is in thy Dominion.*

Yet for all this *Grotius* maintains that the *law of Nature is so immutable, that it cannot be changed by God himself.* He means to make it good with a distinction, *Some things* (saith he) *are by the law of Nature, but not simply, but according to the certain state of things; so the common use of things was natural as long as Dominion was not brought in; and right for every man to take his own by force, before laws were made.* Here if *Grotius* would have spoken plain, in stead of *but not simply, but according to the certain state of things*, he would have said *but not immutably, but for a certain time.* And then this distinction would have run thus: *Some things are by the law of Nature, but not immutably, but for a certain time.* This must needs be the naked sense of his distinction, as appears by his explication in the words following, where he saith, that *the common use of things was natural so long as dominion was not brought in:* Dominion he saith was brought in by the will of man, whom by this doctrine *Grotius* makes to be able to change that law which God himself cannot change, as he saith. He gives a double ability to man, first, to make that No law of Nature, which God made to be the law of Nature: And next to make that a law of Nature which God made not; for now that Dominion is brought in, he maintains it is against the law of Nature to take that which is in another mans dominion.

Besides I finde no Coherence in these words, *By the law of Nature it was right for every man to take his own by force, before laws made*, since by the law of Nature no man had any thing of his own; and until laws were made, there was no propriety according to his doctrine.

Ius humanum voluntarium latius patens, he makes to be *the law of Nations, which* (saith he) *by the will of All or Many Nations hath received a power to binde*, he addes *of Many, because there is*, as he grants, *scarce any law to be found common to all nations besides the law of Nature; which also is wont to be called the law of Nations, being common to all Nations*. Nay, as he confesseth, *often, that is the law in one part of the world, which in another part of the world is not the law of Nations*.

By these sentences it seems *Grotius* can scarce tell what to make to be the law of Nations, or where to finde it.

Whereas he makes the law of Nations to have a binding power from the will of men, it must be remembred, that it is not sufficient for men to have a will to binde, but it is necessary also to have a power to binde.

Though several nations have one and the same law, for instance, let it be granted that theft is punished by death in many Countries, yet this doth not make it to be a law of Nations, because each Nation hath it but as a Natural or Civil law of their own Country; and though it have a binding power from the will of many nations, yet because each nation hath but a will and power to binde themselves, and may without prejudice consent, or consulting of any neighbor-nation alter this law if they finde cause, it cannot properly be called the law of Nations. That which is the foundation of the law of Nations, is to have it concern *such things as belong to the mutual Society of nations among themselves*, as *Grotius* confesseth, and not of such things as have no further relation then to the particular benefit of each Kingdome: For as private men must neglect their own profit for the good of their Country; so particular nations must sometimes remit part of their benefit for the good of many nations.

Lib. 2. c. 8.

True it is, that in particular Kingdomes and Common-wealths there be Civil and National laws, and also Customes that obtain the force of laws: But yet such laws are ordained by some

supreme

ſupreme power, and the Cuſtomes are examined, judged and allowed by the ſame ſupreme power. Where there is no ſupreme power that extends over all or many nations but only God himſelf, there can be no laws made to binde nations, but ſuch as are made by God himſelf: we cannot finde that God made any laws to binde nations, but onely the Moral law; as for the Judicial law, though it were ordained by God, yet it was not the law of Nations, but of one Nation only, and fitted to that Commonwealth.

If any think that the Cuſtoms wherein many nations do conſent, may be called the law of Nations, as well as the Cuſtomes of any one Nation may be eſteemed for national laws: They are to conſider that it is not the being of a Cuſtome that makes it lawful, for then all cuſtomes, even evil cuſtomes, would be lawful; but it is the approbation of the ſupreme power that gives a legality to the Cuſtome: where there is no ſupreme power over many nations, their Cuſtomes cannot be made legal.

The doctrine of *Grotius* is, that *God immediately after the Creation did beſtow upon Mankinde in general a right over things of inferior nature — From whence it came to paſs, that preſently every man might ſnatch what he would for his own uſe, and ſpend what he could, and ſuch an univerſal right was then in ſtead of property; for what every one ſo catched, another could not take from him but by injury.*

How repugnant this aſſertion of *Grotius* is to the truth of Holy Scripture, M. *Selden* teacheth us in his *Mare Clauſum*, ſaying, that Adam *by donation from God*, Gen. 1. 28. *was made the generall Lord of all things, not without ſuch a private dominion to himſelf, as (without his grant) did exclude his children: And by donation and aſſignation, or ſome kinde of ceſſion (before he was dead, or left any heir to ſucceed him) his children had their diſtinct Territories by right of private Dominion:* Abel *had his flocks, and paſtures for them,* Cain *had his fields for corn, and the Land of* Nod *where he built himſelf a City.* *Lib.* 1. *c.* 4.

This determination of Mr. *Seldens* being conſonant to the Hiſtory of the Bible, and to natural reaſon, doth contradict the Doctrine of *Grotius*: I cannot conceive why Mr. *Selden* ſhould afterwards affirm, that *neither the law of Nature, nor the Divine law,*

law, do command or forbid either communion of all things or private Dominion, but permitteth both.

As for the general Community between *Noah* and his Sons, which Mr. *Selden* will have to be granted to them, *Gen.*9.2. the Text doth not warrant it; for although the Sons are there mentioned with *Noah* in the blessing, yet it may best be understood with a subordination or a benediction in succession, the blessing might truly be fulfilled, if the Sons either under, or after their Father, enjoyed a private dominion: It is not probable that the private dominion which God gave to *Adam*, and by his donation, assignation or cession to his Children was abrogated, and a Community of all things instituted between *Noah* and his Sons, at the time of the Flood: *Noah* was left the sole heir of the World, why should it be thought that God would dis-inherit him of his Birth-right, and make him of all the men in the world, the onely Tenant in Common with his Children? If the blessing given to *Adam*, Gen.1.28. be compared to that given to *Noah* and his Sons, *Gen.*9.2. there will be found a considerable difference between those two Texts: In the benediction of *Adam*, we finde expressed a *subduing of the Earth, and a dominion over the Creatures*, neither of which are expressed in the blessing of *Noah*, nor the Earth there once named, it is onely said, *The fear of you shall be upon the Creatures, and into your hands are they delivered*; then immediately it follows, *Every moving thing shall be meat for you, as the green herb*: The first blessing gave *Adam Dominion* over the Earth and all Creatures, the latter allows *Noah* liberty to use the living Creatures for food: here is no alteration or diminishing of his Title to a Propriety of all things, but an enlargement onely of his Commons.

But whether with *Grotius*, Community came in at the Creation, or with Mr. *Selden* at the Flood, they both agree it did not long continue, *Sed verisimile est similem hujusmodi communionem diu vbtinuisse*, is the confession of Mr. *Selden*. It seems strange that *Grotius* should maintain, that Community of all things should be by the law of Nature, of which God is the Author; and yet such Community should not be able to continue: Doth it not derogate from the Providence of God Almighty, to ordain a Community which could not continue? or doth it not make the

Act

Act of our forefathers, in abrogating the naturall law of Community, by introducing that of propriety, to be a sinne of a high presumption?

The prime duties of the second table are conversant about the right of Propriety: but if Propriety be brought in by a humane law (as *Grotius* teacheth) then the Moral law depends upon the will of man. There could be no law against Adultery or Theft, if women and all things were common.

Mr. *Selden* saith, that the law of Nature or of God *nec vetuit nec jubebat, sed permisit utrumque, tam nempe rerum communionem quam privatam Dominium.* And yet for propriety (which he terms *primava rerum Dominii*) he teacheth that *Adam received it from God, à numine acceperat*: And for Community he saith, *We meet with evident foot-steps of the Community of things in that donation of God, by which* Noah *and his three Sons are made Domini pro indiviso rerum omnium.* Thus he makes the private dominion of *Adam*, as well as the common dominion of *Noah* and his Sons, to be both by the Will of God. Nor doth he shew how *Noah*, or his Sons, or their Posterity, had any authority to alter the Law of Community which was given them by God.

In distributing Territories (Mr. *Selden* saith) *the consent as it were of Mankinde* (passing their promise, *which should also binde their posterity*) *did intervene, so that men departed from their common right of Communion of those things which were so distributed to particular Lords or Masters.* This distribution by Consent of Mankinde we must take upon Credit, for there is not the least proof offered for it out of Antiquity.

How the Consent of Mankinde could binde posterity when all things were common, is a point not so evident, where Children take nothing by gift or by descent from their Parents, but have an equal and common interest with them, there is no reason in such cases, that the acts of the Fathers should binde the Sons.

I finde no cause why Mr. *Selden* should call *Community a prisme Right*; since he makes it but to begin in *Noah*, and to end in *Noahs* Children or Grand-children at the most, for he confesseth the earth, *à Noachidis seculis aliquot post diluvium esse divisum.*

That

That ancient tradition which by Mr. *Seldens* acknowledgment hath obtained reputation every where, seems most reasonable, in that it tells us that *Noah himself, as Lord of all, was Author of the distribution of the world, and of private dominion, and that by the appointment of an Oracle from God he did confirm this distribution by his last Will and Testament, which at his death he left in the hands of his eldest Son* Sem, *and also warned all his Sons, that none of them should invade any of their Brothers dominions, or injure one another, because from thence discord and Civil War would necessarily follow.*

Many conclusions in *Grotius* his book *de Iure Belli & Pacis*, are built upon the foundation of these two Principles. 1. The first is, that *Communis rerum usus naturalis fuit.* 2. The second is, that *Dominiũ quale nunc in usu est, voluntas humana introduxit.* Upon these two propositions of natural Community and voluntary propriety, depend divers dangerous and seditious conclusions, which are dispersed in several places. In the 4. *Chap.* of the first Book, the title of which *Chapter* is of the *War of Subjects* against their Superiors; *Grotius* handleth the question, *Whether the law of not resisting Superiors do binde us in most grievous & most certain danger?* and his determination is, that *this law of not resisting Superiors seems to depend upon the will of those men who at first joyned themselves in a civil Society, from whom the right of government doth come to them that govern: if those had been at first asked, if their will were to impose this burthen upon all, that they should choose rather to dye, then in any case by Arms to repel the force of superiors; I know not whether they would answer that it was their will, unless perhaps with this addition, if resistance cannot be made but with the great disturbance of the Commonwealth, and destruction of many innocents.* Here we have his resolution, that in great and certain danger, men may resist their Governors, if it may be without disturbance of the Commonwealth: if you would know who should be Judge of the greatnesse and certainty of the danger, or how we may know it, *Grotius* hath not one word of it, so that for ought appears to the contrary, his minde may be that every private man may be Judge of the danger, for other Judge he appoints none; it had been a foul fault in so desperate a piece of service, as the resisting of

Superiors,

Superiors, to have concealed the lawful means, by which we may judge of the greatneſſe or certainty of publick danger, before we lift up our hands againſt Authority, conſidering how prone moſt of us are, to cenſure and miſtake thoſe things for great and certain dangers, which in truth many times are no dangers at all, or at the moſt but very ſmall ones; and ſo flatter our ſelves, that by reſiſting our Superiors we may do our Country laudable ſervice, without diſturbance of the Commonwealth, ſince the effects of Sedition cannot be certainly judged of but by the events onely.

Grotius proceeds to anſwer an objection againſt this Doctrine of reſiſting Superiors. *If* (ſaith he) *any man ſhall ſay that this rigid doctrine of dying rather then reſiſting any injuries of Superiors, is no humane, but a divine law: It is to be noted that men at firſt, not by any Precept of God, but of their own accord, led by experience of the infirmities of ſeparated families againſt violence, did meet together in civil Society, from whence civil Power took beginning, which therefore S.* Peter *calls an humane ordinance, although elſwhere it be called a divine ordinance, becauſe God approveth the wholeſome inſtitutions of men; God in approving a humane law is to be thought to approve it as humane, and in a humane manner.*

And again in another place he goeth further, and teacheth us, that *if the queſtion happen to be concerning the primitive will of the People, it will not be amiſs for the People that now are, & which are accounted the ſame with them that were long ago, to expreſſe their meaning in this matter which is to be followed, unleſs it certainly appear, that the People long ago willed otherwiſe.* Lib. 2. c. 2.

For fuller explication of his judgement about reſiſting Superiors, he concludes thus: *The greater the thing is which is to be preſerved, the greater is the equity which reacheth forth an exception againſt the words of the law: yet I dare not* (ſaith *Grotius*) *without difference condemn either ſimple men or a leſſer part of the People, who in the laſt refuge of neceſſity, do ſo uſe this equity, as that in the mean time, they do not forſake the reſpect of the common good.*

Another doctrine of *Grotius* is, that *the Empire which is exerciſed by Kings, doth not ceaſe to be the Empire of the People; that Kings who in a lawful order ſucceed thoſe who were elected, have the ſupreme power by an uſufructuary right only, and no propriety.*

Furthermore he teacheth, that *the People may choose what form of government they please, and their will is the rule of right.* Populus eligere potest qualem vult gubernationis formam, neque ex præstantia formæ, sed ex voluntate jus metiendum est. *Lib. 1. c. 3.*

Also that *the people choosing a King may reserve some acts to themselves, and may bestow others upon the King, with full authority, if either an expresse partition be appointed, or if the people being yet free, do command their future King, by way of a standing command, or if any thing be added by which it may be understood, that the King may be compelled or else punished.*

In these passages of *Grotius* which I have cited, we finde evidently these Doctrines.

1. That Civil Power depends on the will of the People.

2. That private men or petty Multitudes may take up Arms against their Princes.

3. That the lawfullest Kings have no propriety in their Kingdomes, but an usufructuary right only: as if the people were the Lords, and Kings but their Tenants.

4. That the Law of not resisting Superiors is a humane Law, depending on the will of the people at first.

5. That the will of the first people if it be not known, may be expounded by the people that now are.

No doubt but *Gratian* foresaw what uses the people might make of these Doctrines, by concluding, if the chief power be in the people, that then it is lawful for them to compel and punish Kings as oft as they misuse their power; therefore he tells us, he *rejects the opinion of them, who every where and without exception will have the chief power to be in the people, that it is lawful for them to compel and punish Kings as oft as they misuse their power;* and *this opinion* he confesseth *if it be altogether received, hath been and may be the cause of many evils.* This cautelous rejection qualified with these terms of *every where without exception*, and *altogether*, makes but a mint negation, partly *negative*, and partly *affirmative* (which our Lawyers call a *negative pregnant*) which brings forth this modal proposition, *that in some places with some exception, and in some sort the people may compel and punish their Kings.*

But let us see how *Grotius* doth refute the general opinion, *that*

people.

people may correct Kings. He frames his argument in these words, *it is lawful for every man to yield himself to be a private servant to whom he pleases: what should hinder, but that also it may be lawful for a free people so to yield themselves to one or more, that the right of governing them be fully set over without retaining any part of the right? and you must not say, That this may not be presumed, for we do not now seek, what in a doubtful case may be presumed, but what by right may be done.* Thus far is the argument, in which the most that is proved (if we gratifie him, and yield his whole argument for good) is this, that *the people may grant away their power without retaining any part.* But what is this to what the people have done? for though the people may give away their power without reservation of any part to themselves; yet if they have not so done, but have reserved a part, *Grotius* must confess, that the people may compel and punish their Kings if they transgress: so that by his favor the point will be, not what by right may be done, but what in this doubtful case hath been done, since by his own Rule *it is the will and meaning of the first people that joyned in Society*, that must regulate the power of their successors.

But on *Grotius* side it may be urged, that in all presumption, the people have given away their whole power to Kings, unless they can prove they have reserved a part; for if they will have any benefit of a reservation or exception, it lyes on their part to prove their exception, and not on the Kings part who are in possession.

This answer, though in it self it be most just and good; yet of all men *Grotius* may not use it. For he saves the people the labour of proving the primitive reservation of their forefathers, by making the people that now are competent Expositors of the meaning of those first Ancestors, who may justly be presumed, not to have been either so improvident for themselves, or so negligent of all their posterity, when by the law of Nature they were free and had all things common, at an instant without any condition or limitation to give away that liberty and right of Community, and to make themselves and their Children eternally subject to the will of such Governors, as might misuse them without controll.

On the behalf of the people it may be further answered to

Grotius, that although our Anceſtors had made an abſolute grant of their liberty, without any condition expreſſed, yet it muſt be neceſſarily implied that it was upon condition to be well governed, and that the Non-performance of that implied condition makes the grant void; Or if we will not allow an implicite condition, then it may be ſaid that the grant in it ſelf was a void grant, for being unreaſonable, and a violation of the law of Nature, without any valuable conſideration. What ſound reply *Grotius* can return to ſuch anſwers, I cannot conceive, if he keep himſelf to his firſt principle of natural Community. As *Grotius* argument againſt the people is not ſound, ſo his anſwer to the argument that is made for the people is not ſatisfactory. It is objected, that *he that ordains is above him that is ordained. Grotius* anſwers, *Verũ duntaxat eſt in ea conſtitutione cujus effectus perpetuo pendet à voluntate conſtituentis, non etiam in ea quæ ab initio eſt voluntatis, poſtea verò effectum habet neceſſitatis, quemodo mulier virum ſibi conſtituit, cui parere ſemper habet neceſſe.* The reply may be, that by *Grotius* former doctrine the very effect of the conſtitution of Kings by the people, depends perpetually upon the will of them that conſtitute, and upon no other neceſſity: he will not ſay that it is by any neceſſity of the law of Nature, or by any poſitive law of God, he teacheth that *non Dei præcepto, ſed ſponte*, men entred into civil Society, that it is an Humane Ordinance, that God doth onely approve it *ut humanum*, and *humano modo*. He tells us further, that *populus poteſt eligere qualem vult gubernationis formam, & ex voluntate jus metiendum eſt*; that the people may give the King *as little power as they will, and for as little time as they pleaſe, that they may make temporary Kings as Dictators & Protectors: jus quovis tempore revocabile, id eſt precarium*; as the *Vandalls* in *Africa*, and the *Gothes* in *Spain*, would depoſe their Kings as oft as they diſpleaſed them, *horũ enim actus irriti poſſunt reddi ab his qui poteſtatem revocabiliter dederunt, ac proinde non idem eſt effectus nec jus idem.* Here he doth teach in plain words, the effect doth depend upon the will of the people. By this we may judge how improperly he uſeth the inſtance of a Woman, that appoints her ſelf a Husband whom ſhe muſt alwayes neceſſarily obey, ſince the neceſſity of the continuance of the Wives obedience depends upon the law of God, which hath made the

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Next it is objected, that *Tutors who are ſet over Pupils may be removed if they abuſe their power. Grotius* anſwers, *In tutore hoc procedit qui ſuperiorẽ habet, at in imperiis quia progreſſus non datur in infinitum, omnino in aliqua perſona aut cœtu conſiſtendũ eſt: We muſt ſtay in ſome one perſon, or in a multitude, whoſe faults (becauſe they have no ſuperior Judge above them) God hath witneſſed that he will have a particular care of, either to revenge them if he judge it needful, or to tolerate them either for puniſhment, or tryal of the people.* It is true, in Kingdomes we cannot proceed *in infinitum*, yet we may and muſt go to the higheſt, which by *Grotius* Rule is the people, becauſe they firſt made Kings, ſo that there is no need to ſtay *in aliqua perſona*, but in *cœtu*, in the people, ſo that by his doctrine Kings may be puniſhed by the people, but the faults of the people muſt be left to the judgement of God.

I have briefly preſented here, the deſperate inconveniences wch attend upon the doctrine *of the natural freedome and Community of all things*, theſe and many more abſurdities are eaſily removed, if on the contrary we maintain the *natural and private dominion of Adam*, to be the fountain of all Government and Propriety: And if we mark it well, we ſhall finde that *Grotius* doth in part grant as much; The ground why thoſe that now live do obey their Governors, is the will of their forefathers, who at the firſt ordained Princes, and in obedience to that will, the children continue in ſubjection; this is according to the minde of *Grotius*: ſo that the queſtion is not *whether Kings have a fatherly power over their Subjects, but how Kings firſt came by it. Grotius* will have it that our forefathers being all free, made an aſſignment of their power to Kings; the other opinion denies any ſuch generall freedome of our forefathers, but derives the power of Kings from the Original Dominion of *Adam*.

This natural Dominion of *Adam* may be proved out of *Grotius* himſelf, who teacheth that *generatione jus acquiritur parentibus in liberos*, and that *naturally no other can be found, but the Parents*

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to whom the Government should belong, and the right of ruling & compelling them doth belong to Parents. And in another place he hath these words, speaking of the first Commandment, *Parentum nomine qui naturales sunt magistratus, etiam alios rectores patet intelligi quorum authoritas societatem humanam continet:* and if Parents be natural Magistrates, Children must needs be born natural Subjects.

But although *Grotius* acknowledge Parents to be natural Magistrates, yet he will have it that Children when they come to full age, and are separated from their Parents, are free from natural subjection. For this he offers proof out of *Aristotle*, and out of Scripture. First for *Aristotle*, we must note, he doth not teach that every separation of Children of full age, is an obtaining of liberty, as if that men when they come to years might voluntarily separate themselves, and cast off their natural obedience; but *Aristotle* speaks onely of a passive separation, for he doth not say, that Children are subject to Parents *until they do separate, but* he saith *until they be separated*, χωρισθῶσι in the verb of the passive voyce. That is, until by law they be separated: for the law (which is nothing else but the will of him that hath the power of the supreme Father) doth in many cases for the publick benefit of Society, free Children from subjection to the subordinate Parent, so that the natural subjection by such Emancipation of Children, is not extinguished, but onely assumed and regulated by the Parent paramount.

Secondly, *Grotius* cites *Numb.* 30. to prove that the *Power of the Fathers over the Sons and Daughters, to dissolve their vows, was not perpetual, but during the time only whilst the children were part of the fathers Family.* But if we turn to the Chapter, we may finde that *Grotius* either deceives himself or us, for there is not one word in that Chapter concerning the vowes of Sons, but of Daughters only, being in their Fathers family; and the being of the Daughter in the Fathers house, meaneth only the Daughters being a Virgin and not married, which may be gathered by the argument of the whole Chapter, which taketh particular order for the vows of women of all estates. First, for Virgins in the 3. verse. Secondly, for Wives in general in the 6. ver. Thirdly, for Widows and Women divorced, in the 9. ver. There is

no

no law for virgins out of their fathers houses, we may not think they would have been omitted, if they had been free from their fathers, we finde no freedome in the Text for Women, till after Marriage: And if they were married, though they were in their fathers houses, yet the fathers had no power of their vows, but their Husbands.

If by the law of Nature, departure from the fathers house had emancipated Children, why doth the Civil law contrary to the law of Nature, give power and remedy to fathers for to recover by action of Law their Children that depart, or are taken from them without their consent? without the consent of parents the civill law allowes no emancipation.

Concerning subjection of Children to Parents, *Grotius* distinguisheth 3 several times.

The first is the time of *Imperfect Judgement.*

The second is the time of *Perfect Judgement*: but *whilst the Son remains a part of the Fathers family.*

The third is, *the time after he hath departed out of his Fathers family.*

In the first time he saith, *All the actions of Children are under the dominion of the Parents.*

During the second time, *when they are of the age of mature judgement, they are under their fathers command in those actions onely which are of moment for their parents family. In other actions the children have a power or moral faculty of doing, but they are bound in these also to study always to please their parents. But since this duty is not by force of any moral faculty as those former are, but onely of pietie, observance, & duty of repaying thanks, it doth not make any thing void which is done against it, as neither a gift of any thing is void, being made by any owner whatsoever against the rules of parsimony.*

In both these times the right of ruling and compelling is (as *Grotius* acknowledgeth) *comprehended so far forth as children are to be compelled to their duty or amended, although the power of a parent doth so follow the person of a Father, that it cannot be pulled away and transferred upon another, yet the Father may naturally pause, or absolve his Son if there be need.*

In the third time he saith, *the Son is in all things free and of his own:*

Grotius, that although our Anceſtors had made an abſolute grant of their liberty, without any condition expreſſed, yet it muſt be neceſſarily implied that it was upon condition to be well governed, and that the Non-performance of that implied condition makes the grant void; Or if we will not allow an implicite condition, then it may be ſaid that the grant in it ſelf was a void grant, for being unreaſonable, and a violation of the law of Nature, without any valuable conſideration. What found reply *Grotius* can return to ſuch anſwers, I cannot conceive, if he keep himſelf to his firſt principle of natural Community. As *Grotius* argument againſt the people is not ſound, ſo his anſwer to the argument that is made for the people is not ſatisfactory. It is objected, that *he that ordains is above him that is ordained. Grotius* anſwers, *Verũ duntaxat eſt in ea conſtitutione cujus effectus perpetuo pendet à voluntate conſtituentis, non etiam in ea quæ ab initio eſt voluntatis, poſtea verò effectum habet neceſſitatis, quemodo mulier virum ſibi conſtituit, cui parere ſemper habet neceſſe.* The reply may be, that by *Grotius* former doctrine the very effect of the conſtitution of Kings by the people, depends perpetually upon the will of them that conſtitute, and upon no other neceſſity: he will not ſay that it is by any neceſſity of the law of Nature, or by any poſitive law of God, he teacheth that *non Dei præcepto, ſed ſponte*, men entred into civil Society, that it is an Humane Ordinance, that God doth onely approve it *ut humanum*, and *humano modo*. He tells us further, that *populus poteſt eligere qualem vult gubernationis formam, & ex voluntate jus metiendum eſt*; that the people may give the King *as little power as they will, and for as little time as they pleaſe, that they may make temporary Kings as Dictators & Protectors: jus quovis tempore revocabile, id eſt precarium*; as the *Vandalls* in *Africa*, and the *Gothes* in *Spain*, would depoſe their Kings as oft as they diſpleaſed them, *horũ enim actus irriti poſſunt reddi ab his quib. poteſtatem revocabiliter dederunt, ac proinde non idem eſt effectus nec jus idem.* Here he doth teach in plain words, the effect doth depend upon the will of the people. By this we may judge how improperly he uſeth the inſtance of a Woman, that appoints her ſelf a Husband whom ſhe muſt alwayes neceſſarily obey, ſince the neceſſity of the continuance of the Wives obedience depends upon the law of God, which hath made the

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Bond of Matrimony indissolvable. *Grotius* will not say the like for the continuance of the Subjects obedience to the Prince, neither will he say that Women may choose Husbands, as he tells us the people may choose Kings, by giving their husbands as little power, and for as little a time as they please.

Next it is objected, that *Tutors who are set over Pupils may be removed if they abuse their power.* *Grotius* answers, *In tutore hoc procedit qui superiorẽ habet, at in imperiis quia progressus non datur in infinitum, omnino in aliqua persona aut cœtu consistendũ est: We must stay in some one person, or in a multitude, whose faults (because they have no superior Judge above them) God hath witnessed that he will have a particular care of, either to revenge them if he judge it needful, or to tolerate them either for punishment, or tryal of the people.* It is true, in Kingdomes we cannot proceed *in infinitum*, yet we may and must go to the highest, which by *Grotius* Rule is the people, because they first made Kings, so that there is no need to stay *in aliqua persona*, but in *cœtu*, in the people, so that by his doctrine Kings may be punished by the people, but the faults of the people must be left to the judgement of God.

I have briefly presented here, the desperate inconveniences wch attend upon the doctrine *of the natural freedome and Community of all things*, these and many more absurdities are easily removed, if on the contrary we maintain the *natural and private dominion of Adam*, to be the fountain of all Government and Propriety: And if we mark it well, we shall finde that *Grotius* doth in part grant as much; The ground why those that now live do obey their Governors, is the will of their forefathers, who at the first ordained Princes, and in obedience to that will, the children continue in subjection; this is according to the minde of *Grotius*: so that the question is not *whether Kings have a fatherly power over their Subjects, but how Kings first came by it.* *Grotius* will have it that our forefathers being all free, made an assignment of their power to Kings; the other opinion denies any such generall freedome of our forefathers, but derives the power of Kings from the Original Dominion of *Adam*.

This natural Dominion of *Adam* may be proved out of *Grotius* himself, who teacheth that *generatione jus acquiritur parentibus in liberos*, and that *naturally no other can be found, but the Parents*

10.

to whom the Government should belong, and the right of ruling & compelling them doth belong to Parents; And in another place he hath these words, speaking of the first Commandment, *Parentum nomine qui naturales sunt magistratus, etiam alios rectores par est intelligi quorum authoritas societatem humanam continet*: and if Parents be natural Magistrates, Children must needs be born natural Subjects.

But although *Grotius* acknowledge Parents to be natural Magistrates, yet he will have it that Children when they come to full age, and are separated from their Parents, are free from natural subjection. For this he offers proof out of *Aristotle*, and out of Scripture. First for *Aristotle*, we must note, he doth not teach that every separation of Children of full age, is an obtaining of liberty, as if that men when they come to years might voluntarily separate themselves, and cast off their natural obedience; but *Aristotle* speaks onely of a passive separation, for he doth not say that Children are subject to Parents *until they do separate*, but he saith *until they be separated*, κεχωρισμένοι in the verb of the passive voyce. That is, until by law they be separated: for the law (which is nothing else but the will of him that hath the power of the supreme Father) doth in many cases for the publick benefit of Society, free Children from subjection to the subordinate Parent, so that the natural subjection by such Emancipation of Children, is not extinguished, but onely assumed and regulated by the Parent paramount.

Secondly, *Grotius* cites *Numb.* 30. to prove that the *Power of the Fathers over the Sons and Daughters, to dissolve their vows, was not perpetual, but during the time only whilst the children were part of the fathers Family*. But if we turn to the Chapter, we may finde that *Grotius* either deceives himself or us, for there is not one word in that Chapter concerning the vowes of Sons, but of Daughters only, being in their Fathers family; and the being of the Daughter in the Fathers house, meaneth only the Daughters being a Virgin and not married, which may be gathered by the argument of the whole Chapter, which taketh particular order for the vows of women of all estates. First, for Virgins in the 3. verse. Secondly, for Wives in general in the 6. ver. Thirdly, for Widows and Women divorced, in the 9. ver. There is

no

no law for virgins out of their fathers houses, we may not think they would have been omitted, if they had been free from their fathers, we finde no freedome in the Text for Women, till after Marriage: And if they were married, though they were in their fathers houses, yet the fathers had no power of their vows, but their Husbands.

If by the law of Nature, departure from the fathers house had emancipated Children, why doth the Civil law contrary to the law of Nature, give power and remedy to fathers for to recover by action of Law their Children that depart, or are taken from them without their consent? without the consent of parents the civill law allowes no emancipation.

Concerning subjection of Children to Parents, *Grotius* distinguisheth 3 several times.

The first is the time of *Imperfect Judgement.*

The second is the time of *Perfect Judgement*: but *whilst the Son remains a part of the Fathers family.*

The third is, *the time after he hath departed out of his Fathers family.*

In the first time he saith, *All the actions of Children are under the dominion of the Parents.*

During the second time, *when they are of the age of mature judgement, they are under their fathers command in those actions onely which are of moment for their parents family. In other actions the children have a power or moral faculty of doing, but they are bound in those also to study always to please their parents. But since this duty is not by force of any moral faculty as those former are, but onely of pietie, observance, & duty of repaying thanks, it doth not make any thing void which is done against it, as neither a gift of any thing is void, being made by any owner whatsoever against the rules of parsimony.*

In both these times the right of ruling and compelling is (as *Grotius* acknowledgeth) *comprehended so far forth as children are to be compelled to their duty or amended, although the power of a parent doth so follow the person of a Father, that it cannot be pulled away and transferred upon another, yet the Father may mitigate, pawn, or alienate his Son if there be need.*

In the third time he saith, *the Son is in all things free and of his own:*

own authority; alwayes that duty remaining of piety and observance, the cause of which is perpetual. In this triple distinction though *Grotius* allow children in some cases during the second, and in all cases during the third time to be free, and of their own power by a moral faculty: yet in that he confesseth, *in all cases children are bound to study alwayes to please their Parents out of piety and duty, the cause of which,* as he saith, *is perpetual*; I cannot conceive how in any case children can naturally have any power or moral faculty of doing what they please without their Parents leave, since they are always bound to study to please their Parents. And though by the laws of some Nations children when they attain to years of discretion have power and liberty in many actions; yet this liberty is granted them by positive and humane laws onely, which are made by the supreme fatherly power of Princes, who regulate, limit, or assume the authority of inferior Fathers, for the publick benefit of the Commonwealth; so that naturally the power of Parents over their Children never ceaseth by any separation, but onely by the permission of the transcendant fatherly power of the supreme Prince, Children may be dispensed with, or priviledged in some cases from obedience to subordinate Parents.

Touching the point of dissolving the vows of Children, *Grotius* in his last edition of his Book hath corrected his first: for in the first he teacheth that *the power of the Father was greater over the Daughter dwelling with him then over the Son, for her vow he might make void, but not his*: But in stead of these words, in his last edition he saith, that *the power over the Son or Daughter to dissolve vows was not perpetual, but did indure as long as the children were a part of their fathers family.* About the meaning of the text out of which he draws this conclusion, I have already spoken.

Three wayes *Grotius* propoundeth, whereby *Supreme Power* may be had.

First, by *full right of Propriety.*

Secondly, by an *Usufructuary Right.*

Thirdly, by a *Temporary Right.*

The *Roman* Dictators, saith he, *had Supreme Power by a temporary right, as well those Kings who are first elected, as those that in a lawful right succeed to Kings elected, have supreme*

power

power by an usufructuary right: some Kings that have got supreme power by a just war, or into whose power some people for avoiding a greater evil have so yielded themselves, as that they have excepted nothing, have a full Right of Propriety.

Thus we find but two means acknowledged by *Grotius* whereby *a King may obtain a full Right of Propriety in a Kingdome. That is, either by a just War, or by Donation of the People.*

How a War can be just without a precedent title in the Conqueror, *Grotius* doth not shew; and if the Title onely make the war just, then no other right can be obtained by war then what the title bringeth, for a just war doth onely put the Conqueror in possession of his old right, but not create a new. The like which *Grotius* saith of succession may be said of war. *Succession* (saith he) *is no title of a Kingdome which gives a form to the Kingdome, but a continuation of the old, for the right which began by the Election of the family is continued by succession, wherefore so much as the first election gave, so much the succession brings.* So to a Conqueror that hath a title, war doth not give, but put him in possession of a right: and except the Conqueror had a full right of Propriety at first, his conquest cannot give it him: for if originally he and his Ancestors had but an usufructuary right, and were outed of the possession of the Kingdome by an usurper: here though the reconquest be a most just war, yet shall not the Conqueror in this case gain any full right of propriety, but must be remitted to his usufructuary right onely: for what Justice can it be, that the Injustice of a third person, an usurper, should prejudice the people, to the devesting of them of that right of propriety, which was reserved in their first Donation to their elected King, to whom they gave but an usufructuary right, as *Grotius* conceiveth? wherefore it seems impossible that there can be a just war, whereby a full right of Propriety may be gained according to *Grotius* principles. For if a King come in by conquest, he must either conquer them that have a Governor, or those people that have none: if they have no Governor, then they are a free people, and so the war will be unjust to conquer those that are free, especially if the freedome of the people be by the primary law of Nature as *Grotius* teacheth: But if the people conquered have a Governor, that Governor hath either a title or not; if he have

a title, it is an unjust war that takes the Kingdome from him: If he have no title but onely the possession of a Kingdome, yet it is unjust for any other man that wants a title also, to conquer him that is but in possession, for it is a just rule that *where the cases are alike, he that is in possession is in the better condition, In pari causa possidentis melior conditio.* And this by the law of Nature even in the judgement of *Grotius.* But if it be admitted that he that attempts to conquer have a title, and he that is in possession hath none: here the conquest is but in nature of a possessory action to put the Conqueror in possession of a primer right, and not to raise a new title, for war begins where the law fails. *Ubi judicia deficiunt incipit bellum.* And thus upon the matter I cannot find in *Grotius* Book *de Jure Belli*, how that any case can be put wherein *by a just war a man may become a King* pleno jure proprietatis.

Lib. 2. c. 23.

Lib. 2. c. 1.

All Government and Supreme Power is founded upon publick Subjection, which is thus defined by *Grotius. Publica subjectio est, qua se Populus homini alicui, aut pluribus hominibus, aut etiam populo alteri in ditionem dat.* If subjection be the gift of the people, how can supreme power *pleno jure*, in full right, be got by a just war?

Lib. 2. c. 5.

As to the other means whereby Kings may get supreme power in full right of propriety, *Grotius* will have it to be *when some People for avoiding a greater evil, do so yield themselves into anothers Power, as that they do except nothing.* It would be considered how, without war, any people can be brought into such danger of life, as that because they can finde no other wayes to defend themselves, or because they are so prest with poverty, as they cannot otherwise have means to sustain themselves, they are forced to renounce all right of governing themselves, and deliver it to a King.

But if such a case cannot happen but by a war onely, which reduceth a people to such terms of extremity, as compels them to an absolute abrenuntiation of all Soveraignty: Then war which causeth that necessity is the prime means of extorting such Soveraignty, and not the free gift of the people, who cannot otherwise choose but give away that power which they cannot keep.

Thus upon the reckoning, the two wayes, propounded by *Grotius*,

tius, are but one way, and that one way in conclusion is no way whereby supreme power may be had in full right of Propriety. His two wayes are a *Just war*, or a *Donation of the People*; a just war cannot be without a Title, no Title without donation of the people, no donation without such a necessity as nothing can bring upon the donors but a war. So that howsoever *Grotius* in words acknowledge that Kings may have full right of Propriety, yet by consequence he denies it by such circular suppositions as by coincidence destroy each other, and in effect he leaves all people a right to plead in barre against the right of propriety of any Prince either *per minas* or *per dures*.

Many times, saith *Grotius*, it happens, that war is grounded upon *expletive Justice*, *Justitiam expletricem*, which is *when a man cannot obtain that he ought, he takes that which is as much in value, which in moral estimation is the same*. For in war when the same Province cannot be recovered to the which a man hath a title, he recovers another of the like value. This recovery cannot give a full right of propriety: because the Justice of such a war reacheth no further then to a compensation for a former right to another thing, and therefore can give no new right.

I am bound to take notice of a case put by *Grotius* amongst those causes w^ch^ he thinks should move the people to renounce all their right of governing and give it to another, *It may also happen* (saith he) *that a father of a family possessing large territories will not receive any man to dwell within his land upon any other condition*. And in another place he saith, that *all Kings are not made by the People, which may be sufficiently understood by the examples of a father of a family receiving strangers under the law of obedience*. In both these passages we have a close and curt acknowledgment that a *father of a family may be an absolute King over strangers without choice of the people*; now I would know whether such fathers of families have not the same absolute power over their own children without the peoples choice, which he allows them over strangers: if they have, I cannot but call them absolute proprietary Kings, though *Grotius* be not willing to give them that title in plain terms: for indeed to allow such Kings, were to condemn his own principle, that *Dominion came in by the will of the people*, and so consequently to overthrow his *usufructuary Kings*, of whom I am next to speak.

Grotius saith, that *the law of obeying or resisting Princes depends upon the will of them who first met in civil Society, from whom power doth flow to Kings.* And that *men of their own accord came together into civil Society, from whence springs civil power, and the people may choose what form of Government they please.* Upon these suppositions he concludes that Kings elected by the people have but an *usufructuary right*, that is, a right to take the profit or fruit of the Kingdome, but not a right of propriety or power to alienate it. But why doth he call it an *usufructuary right*? It seems to me a term too mean or base to express the right of any King, and is derogatory to the dignity of supreme Majesty. The word *usufructuary* is used by the Lawyers to signifie him that hath the use, profit or fruit of some corporal thing that may be used without the property, for of *fungible things* (*res fungibiles*, the Civilians call them) that are spent or consumed in the use, as Corn, Wine, Oyle, Money, there cannot be an *usufructuary right.*

It is to make a Kingdome all one with a Farm, as if it had no other use but to be let out to him that can make most of it: whereas in truth it is the part and duty of a King to govern, and he hath a right so to do, and to that end supreme power is given unto him, the taking of the profit, or making use of the patrimony of the Crown, is but as a means onely to enable him to perform that great work of Government.

Besides *Grotius* will not only have an elected King, but also his lawful successors to have but an *usufructuary right*, so that though a King hath a Crown to him and to his heirs, yet he will allow him no propriety, because he hath no power to alienate it, for he supposeth the primary will of the people to have been to bestow supreme power to go in succession, and not to be alienable; but for this he hath no better proof then a naked presumption, *In regnis quæ populi voluntate delata sunt concedo non esse præsumendum eam fuisse populi voluntatem, ut alienatio imperii sui regi permitteretur.*

But though he will not allow Kings a right of propriety in their Kingdomes, yet a right of propriety there must be in some body, and in whom but in the people? for he saith, *the empire which is exercised by Kings, doth not cease to be the empire of the People.* His meaning is, the use is the Kings, but the property is the Peoples.

But

But if the power to alienate the Kingdome be in him that hath the property, this may prove a comfortable doctrine to the people: but yet to allow a right of succession in Kings, and still to reserve a right of property in the people, may make some contradiction: for the succession must either hinder the right of alienation which is in the people, or the alienation must destroy that right of succession, which by *Grotius* confession may attend upon elected Kings.

Though *Grotius* confess that supreme power be *Unum quiddam, and in it self indivisible*, yet he saith, *Sometimes it may be divided either by parts potential, or subjective.* I take his meaning to be that the Government, or the governed may be divided: an example he gives of the *Roman* Empire which was divided into the *East* and *West*: but whereas he saith *fieri potest*, &c. *It may be the people choosing a King may reserve some actions to themselves, and in others they may give full power to the King.* The example he brings out of *Plato* of the *Heraclides* doth not prove it, and it is to dream of such a form of Government as never yet had name, nor was ever found in any setled Kingdome, nor cannot possible be without strange confusion.

If it were a thing so voluntary and at the pleasure of men when they were free to put themselves under subjection, why may they not as voluntarily leave subjection when they please, and be free again? if they had a liberty to change their Natural freedome, into a voluntary subjection, there is stronger reason that they may change their voluntary subjection into natural freedome, since it is as lawful for men to alter their wills as their judgements.

Certainly it was a rare felicity that all the men in the World at one instant of time should agree together in one minde to change the Natural Community of all things into Private Dominion: for without such an unanimous consent it was not possible for Community to be altered: for if but one man in the world had dissented, the alteration had been unjust, because that man by the law of Nature had a right to the common use of all things in the world; so that to have given a propriety of any one thing to any other, had been to have robbed him of his right to the common use of all things.

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If our first parents or some other of our forefathers did voluntarily bring in propriety of goods and subjection to Governors, and it were in their power either to bring them in or not, or having brought them in, to alter their mindes and restore them to their first condition of Community and Liberty; what reason can there be alleaged that men that now live should not have the same power? So that if any one man in the world, be he never so mean or base, will but alter his will, and say, he will resume his natural right to Community, and be restored unto his natural Liberty, and consequently take what he please and do what he list, who can say that such a man doth more then by right he may? And then it will be lawful for every man when he please to dissolve all government, and destroy all property.

Whereas *Grotius* saith, *That by the law of Nature all things were at first common*, and yet teacheth that *after propriety was brought in, it was against the law of Nature to use Community*. He doth thereby not onely make the law of Nature changeable, which he saith God cannot do, but he also makes the law of Nature contrary to it self.

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UPON
Mr. *HUNTONS* Treatise
of MONARCHY:
OR,
The ANARCHY *of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy.*

THese Observations *on the* Treatise of Monarchy *written by Mr.* Hunton, *being of like* Argument *with the former, are here annexed, with this* Advertisement, *That the* Treatise *it self consists of two parts: the first concerning* Monarchy *in general, the latter concerning this particular* Monarchy, *and is seconded with a* Vindication, *which alleageth new matter about the* nature, kindes, causes *and* means *of Limitation in* Government; *intimating a mistrust that the Treatise had not fully or sufficiently discovered these* Points.

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possibly be Limited or Mixed? If this be not made good, it is but vain labour to trouble the Reader with the dispute about the nature, kindes, and causes of that which is not, nor cannot at all be; or to handle the Hypothesis about this particular Monarchy, for which the prime and chief Arguments are of no greater Antiquity then some Concessions since these present Troubles.

The ancient Doctrine of Government in these later dayes hath been strangely refined by the Romanists, and wonderfully improved since the Reformation, especially in point of Monarchy, by an Opinion, That the People have Originally a power to create several sorts of Monarchy, and to limit and compound them at their pleasure. The consideration hereof caused me to scruple the Modern piece of Politicks touching Limited and Mixed Monarchy; and finding it onely presented us by this Author, I have drawn these few Observations upon the most considerable part of his Treatise, desiring to receive satisfaction from the Author, or any other for him.

The novelty of this poynt challengeth a modest Debate; the rather, for that the Treatise acknowledgeth that not onely Monarchy, but also Aristocraty, & Democraty, may be either Simple, or Mixed of two or all three together, though it doe not determine whether they can be Absolute or Limited.

The Anar-

THE ANARCHY OF A LIMITED OR MIXED MONARCHY.

[redacted]Here is scarce the meanest man of the mankinde [illegible] can now in these dales tell us that the Government of the *Kingdom* of England *is a* LIMITED *and* MIXED *Monarchy*: And it is no [illegible] prevail since all the disputes and arguments of these distracted times both from the Pulpit and the Press [illegible] tend and end in this Conclusion.

The Author of the Treatise of Monarchy hath copiously handled the nature and manner of *Limited* and *Mixed* Monarchy, and is the first and onely man (that I know) hath undertaken the task of describing it, others onely mention it as taking it for granted.

Doctor *Ferne* gives the Author of this Treatise of Monarchy this testimony, that *the Mixture of government is more accurately delivered and largely the Transcription by the Author of the Fuller Answer.* And in another place Doctor *Ferne* saith, he allows his distinction of *Monarchy into Limited and Mixed.* p. 3. p. 13.

I have with some diligence looked over this Treatise, but can-

not approve of these distinctions which he propounds, I submit the reasons of my dislike to others judgements. I am somewhat confident that his doctrine of *Limited and Mixed Monarchy* is an opinion but of yesterday, and of no antiquity, a meer innovation in policy, not so old as *New England*, though calculated properly for that Meridian. For in his first part of the Treatise which concerns Monarchy in Generall, there is not one proof, text, or example in Scripture that he hath produced to justifie his conceit of *Limited* and *Mixed* Monarchy. Neither doth he afford us so much as one passage or reason out of *Aristotle*, whose books of *Politicks*, and whose naturall reasons are of greatest authority and credit with all rationall men next to the sacred Scripture: Nay, I hope I may affirme, and be able to prove that *Arist.* doth confute both *limited* and *mixed* Monarchy, howsoever Doctor *Ferne* think these new opinions to be raised upon *Arist.* principles. As for other Polititians or Historians, either divine or humane, ancient or modern, our Author brings not one to confirm his opinions, nor doth he, nor can he shew that ever any Nation or people were governed by a *limited* or *mixed* Monarchy. p. 6.

Machivell is the first in Christendome that I can find that writ of a *Mixed Government*, but not one syllable of a *Mixed Monarchy*: he, in his discourses or disputations upon the Decades of *Livy* falls so enamored with the Roman Common-wealth, that he thought he could never sufficiently grace that popular government, unlesse he said, there was something of Monarchy in it: yet he was never so impudent as to say, it was a *mixed Monarchy*. And what *Machivell* hath said for *Rome*, the like hath *Contarene* for *Venice*; But *Bodin* hath layed open the errors of both these, as also of *Polibius*, and some few others that held the like opinions. As for the Kingdome of *England* if it have found out a form of Government (as the Treatise layeth it down) of such perfection as never any other people could; It is both a glory to the Nation, and also to this Author who hath first decipher'd it.

I now make my approach to the Book it self; The title is, *A Treatise of Monarchy*. The first part of it is, of *Monarchy in Generall*: Where first, I charge the Author, that he hath not given us any definition or description of Monarchy in Generall: for by

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the rules of method he ſhould have firſt defined, and then divided: for if there be ſeverall ſorts of Monarchy, then in ſomething they muſt agree, which makes them to be Monarchies, and in ſomething they muſt diſagree and differ which makes them to be ſeverall ſorts of Monarchies: in the firſt place he ſhould have ſhewed us in what they all agreed which muſt have been a definition of Monarchy in Generall, which is the foundation of the Treatiſe; and except that be agreed upon, we ſhal argue upon we know not what; I preſſe not this maine omiſſion of our Author out of any humor of wrangling, but becauſe I am confident that had he pitched upon any definition of Monarchy in Generall, his own definition would have confuted his whole Treatiſe: Beſides I find him pleaſed to give us a handſome definition of *Abſolute Monarchy*, from whence I may infer, that he knew no other definition that would have fitted all his other ſorts of Monarchy, it concerned him to have produced it, leſt it might be thought there could be no Monarchy but Abſolute.

What our Author hath omitted, I ſhall attempt to ſupply, and leave to the ſcanning. And it ſhall be a reall as well as nominall definition of Monarchy. *A Monarchy is the government of one alone.* For the better credit of this definition, though it be able to maintain it ſelf, yet I ſhall deduce it from the principles of our Author of the Treatiſe of Monarchy.

We all know that this word *Monarch* is compounded of two Greek words, Μόνος and ἀρχεῖν, ἄρχειν, is *imperare*, to *govern and rule*, μόνος ſignifies *one alone*. The underſtanding of theſe two words may be picked out of our Author. Firſt, for government he teacheth us, it is *Poteſtatis exercitium, the exerciſe of a morall power*; p. 1. next he grants us, that *every Monarch* (even his *limited* Monarch) p. 12. *muſt have the Supream power of the State in him, ſo that his power muſt no way be limited by any power above his, for then he were not a Monarch, but a ſubordinate Magiſtrate.* Here we have a fair confeſſion of a ſupreame unlimited power in his *limited Monarch*: if you will know what he meanes by theſe words *ſupream power*, turn to his 26 page, there you will find, *Supream power is either Legiſlative, or Gubernative, and that the legiſlative power is the chief of the two*, he makes both ſupream, and yet one chief: the like diſtinction he hath before, where he ſaith, *The*

p. 5. *power of Magistracy, in respect of its degrees, is Nomothetical or Architectonicall:* and *Gubernative or Executive:* by these words of *Legislative, Nomothetical* and *Architectonicall* power, in plain English, he understands, *a power of making Laws;* and by *Gubernative* and *Executive*, *a power of putting those Laws in execution by judging and punishing offenders.*

The result we have from hence is, that by the Authors acknowledgment, every Monarch must have the Supream power, and that Supream power is, a power to make laws: and howsoever the Author makes the Gubernative and Executive power a part of the Supream power; yet he confesseth *the Legislative to be chief, or the highest degree of power,* for he doth acknowledge degrees of Supream power; nay, he afterwards teacheth us, that

p. 40. *the Legislative power is the height of power, to which the other parts are subsequent and subservient,* if Gubernative be subservient to Legislative, how can Gubernative power be Supream?

Now let us examine the Authors *Limited Monarch* by these

p. 12. his own rules, he tells us, that in a *moderated, limited, stinted, conditionate, legall or allayed Monarchy,* (for all these names he hath for it) *the Supream power must be restrained by some Law according to which this power was given, and by direction of which this power must act,* when in a line before he said, that *the Monarchs power must not be limited by any power above him:* yet here he will have his Supream power restrained; not limited, and yet restrained; is not a restraint, a limitation? and if restrained, how is it Supream? and if restrained by some law, is not the power of that law, and of them that made that law above his Supream power? and if by the direction of such law only he must govern, where is the Legislative power which is the chief of Supream power? when the Law must rule and govern the Monarch, and not the Monarch the Law, he hath at the most but a Gubernative or

p. 14. Executive power: *if his Authority transcends its bounds, if it transmarches the Law, and the Subject is not bound legally to subjection in such cases, and if the utmost extent of the Law of the land be the measure of the Kingdoms power, and Subjects duty,*

p. 16. *where shall we find the Supream power that Cushon or upper region, that prime spirit,* which our Author saith, *must be in every Monarch:* The word *spirit,* which signifies, *power, polity and power,*

doth

doth also signifie, *principium, beginning*; which doth teach us, that by the word *Prince*, or *principality*, the *principium* or beginning of Government is meant; this, if it be given to the Law, it robs the Monarch, and makes the Law the *primum mobile*, and so that which is but the instrument, or servant to the Monarch, becomes the master. Thus much of the word ἀρχεῖν.

The other word is Μόνῳ, *solus, one alone*: the Monarch must not only have the Supream power unlimited, but he must have it alone (without any companions.) Our Author teacheth us, *He is no Monarch if the Supream power be not in one.* And again he saith, *if you put the* apex potestatis, *or supream power, in the whole body, or a part of it, you destroy the being of Monarchy.* p. 15. p. 17.

Now, let us see if his mixed Monarchy be framed according to these his own principles: First, he saith, *in a mixed Monarchy the sovereign power must be originally in all three Estates.* And again, his words are, *the three Estates are all sharers in the Supream power——the primity of share in the supream power is in One.* Here we find, that he that told us the supream power must be in one, will now allow his mixed Monarch but one share only of the supream power, and gives other shares to the Estates: thus he destroies the being of Monarchy by putting the *Supream power or* culmen potestatis, *or a part of it in the whole body, or a part thereof,* and yet formerly he confesseth, that *the power of Magistracy cannot well be divided, for it is one simple shining or indivisable beam of divine perfection,* but he can make this indivisable beam to be divisible into three shares. I have done with the word Μόνῳ, *solus, alone.* p. 25. p. 5.

I have dwelt the longer upon this definition of Monarchy, because the apprehending of it out of the Authors own grounds quite overthrows both his *Monarch Limited by Law*, and *his Monarch Mixed with the States.* For to Govern, is to give a Law to others; and not to have a Lave given to Govern, and limit him that Governs: And to govern alone is not to have sharers or companions united with the Governor. Thus the two words of which Monarchy is compounded contradict the two sorts of Monarchy which he pleads for; and by consequence his whole Treatise, for these two sorts of *limited* and *mixed* Monarchy take up (in a manner) his whole Book.

I will now touch ſome few particular paſſages in the Treatiſe.

p. 2. Our Author firſt confeſſeth, *it is Gods expreſſe ordinance there ſhould be Government*, and he proves it by *Gen.* 3. 16. where God ordained *Adam to rule over his Wife, and her deſires were to be ſubject to his*; and as hers, ſo all theirs that ſhould come of her. Here we have the originall grant of Government, & the fountain of all power placed in the *father* of all mankind, accordingly we find the *law* for obedience to government given in the tearms of *honor thy Father*: not only the conſtitution of power in generall, but the limitation of it to one kind (that is, to Monarchy, or the government of one alone) and the determination of it to the individual perſon & line of *Adam* are all three ordinances of God. Neither *Eve* nor her Children could either limit *Adams* power, or join others with him in the government, and what was given unto *Adam* was given in his perſon to his poſterity. This paternal power continued monarchicall to the Floud, and after the Floud to the confuſion of *Babel* when Kingdomes were firſt erected, planted, or ſcattered over the face of the world; we find *Gen.* 10. 11. It was done by Colonies of whole families, over which, the prime Fathers had ſupream power, and were Kings, who were all the ſons or grand-children of *Noah*, from whom they derived a fatherly and regall power over their families. Now if this ſupream power was ſetled and founded by God himſelf in the fatherhood, how is it poſſible for the people to have any right or title to alter and diſpoſe of it otherwiſe? what commiſſion can they ſhew that gives them power either of *limitation or mixture*? It was Gods ordinance, that ſupremacy ſhould be unlimited in *Adam*, and as large as all the acts of his will: and as in him, ſo in all others that have ſupream power, as appears by the judgement and ſpeech of the people to *Joſhuah* when he was ſupream Governour, theſe are their words to him, *All that thou commandeſt us wee will do, whoſoever he be that doth rebel againſt thy commandement, and will not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandeſt him, he ſhall be put to death*: we may not ſay that theſe were evill Counſellours or flattering Courtiers of *Joſhuah*, or that he himſelf was a Tyrant for having ſuch arbitrary power. Our Author, and all thoſe, who affirm, that *power is conveyed to perſons by publick conſent*,

ſent, are forced to confeſſe, that it is the fatherly power that firſt inables a people to make ſuch conveyance, ſo that admitting (as they hold) that our Anceſtors did at firſt convey power, yet the reaſon why we now living, doe ſubmit to ſuch power is, for that our Fore-fathers every one for himſelf, his family, and poſterity, had a power of reſigning up themſelves and us to a ſupream power. As the Scripture teacheth us, that *ſupream power was originally in the fatherhood without any limitation*, ſo likewiſe reaſon doth evince it, that if God ordained that Supremacy ſhould be, that then ſupremacy muſt of neceſſity be unlimited, for the power that limits muſt be above that power which is limited, if it be limited it cannot be ſupream: ſo that if our Author will grant ſupream power to be the ordinance of God, the ſupream power will prove it ſelf to be unlimited by the ſame ordinance, becauſe a ſupream limited power is a contradiction.

The monarchicall power of *Adam* the Father of all fleſh, being by a general binding ordinance ſetled by God in him & his poſterity by right of fatherhood, the form of Monarchy muſt be preferr'd above other forms, except the like ordinance for other forms can be ſhewed: neither *may men according to their relations to the form they live under to their affections and judgments in divers reſpects prefer, or compare any other form with Monarchy*. The point that moſt perplexeth our Author and many others is, that if Monarchy be allowed to be the ordinance of God, *an abſurdity would follow, that we ſhould uncharitably condemn all the cõmunities which have not that form, for violation of Gods ordinance, and pronounce thoſe other powers unlawfull*: if thoſe who live under a Monarchy can juſtifie the form they live under to be Gods ordinance, they are not bound to forbear their own juſtification, becauſe others cannot do the like for the form they live under; let others look to the defence of their own government: if it cannot be proved or ſhewed that any other form of government had ever any lawfull beginning, but was brought in, or erected by rebellion, muſt therefore the lawfull and juſt obedience to Monarchy be denied to be the ordinance of God.

To proceed with our Author, in the 3 *page*, he ſaith, *the Higher Power is Gods ordinance: That it reſideth in One or more, in ſuch or ſuch a way, is from humane deſignment, God by no word binds any people*

people to this or that form, till they by their own act bind themselves. Because the power and consent of the people in government is the burden of the whole Book, and our Author expects it should be admitted as a magisteriall postulation without any other proof then a naked supposition, and since others also maintain that *originally Power, was or now is in the People,* and that *the first Kings were chosen by the People:* they may not be offended, if they be asked in what sense they understand the word [*People*] because this, as many other words hath different acceptions, being sometimes taken in a larger, other whiles in a stricter sense. Literally, and in the largest sense the word *People* signifies the *whole multitude of mankind,* but *figuratively* and *synecdochically* it notes many times the *major part* of a multitude, or sometimes the *better,* or the *richer,* or the *wiser,* or some other part; and oftentimes a very small part of the people, if there be no other apparent opposite party hath the name of the people *by presumption.*

If they understand that the entire multitude, or whole people have originally by nature power to chuse a King, they must remember that by their own principles, and rules by nature all mankind in the world makes but one People, who they suppose to be born alike to an equall freedome from subjection, and where such freedome is, there all things must of necessity be common, and therefore without a joynt consent of the whole people of the world, no one thing can be made proper to any one man, but it will be an injury, and an usurpation upon the common right of all others; From whence it follows, that naturall *freedome* being once granted, there cannot be any one man chosen a King without the universall consent of all the people of the world at one instant, *nemine contradicente.* Nay, if it be true that *nature* hath made all men free; though all mankind should concur in one vote, yet it cannot seem reasonable, that they should have power to alter the law of nature; for if no man have power to take away his own life without the guilt of being a murderer of himself, how can any people confer such a power as they have not themselves upon any one man, without being accessories to their own deaths; and every particular man become guilty of being *felo de se?*

If this generall signification of the word *People* be disavowed, and

and men will suppose that the *people* of particular Regions, or Countries have power and freedome to chuse unto themselves Kings; then let them but observe the consequence: Since nature hath not distinguished the habitable world into Kingdomes, nor determined what part of a *people* shall belong to one Kingdome, and what to another, it follows that the originall freedome of mankind being supposed, every man is at liberty to be of what Kingdome he please, and so every petty company hath a right to make a Kingdome by it self, and notonly every City, but every Village, and every Family, nay, and every particular man a liberty to chuse himself to be his owne King if he please, and he were a mad man that being by nature free would chuse any man but himself to be his own Governour. Thus to avoid the having but of one King of the whole world, we shall run into a liberty of having as many Kings as there be men in the world, which upon the matter, is to have no King at all, but to leave all men to their naturall liberty, which is the mischief the Pleaders for *naturall liberty* do pretend they would most avoid.

But if neither the whole People of the world, nor the whole people of any part of the world be meant: but only the *major part*, or some other part, of a part of the world: yet, still the objection will be the stronger. For besides that nature hath made no partition of the world, or of the people into distinct Kingdomes, and that without an universal consent at one and the same instant no partition can be made: yet if it were lawfull for particular parts of the world by consent to chuse their Kings, nevertheless, their elections would bind none to subjection but only such as consented; for the *major part* never binds, but where men at first either agree to be so bound, or where a higher power so commands. Now there being no higher power then nature, but God himself; where neither nature nor God appoints the *major part* to bind, their consent is not binding to any but only to themselves who consent.

Yet, for the present to gratifie them so far as to admit that either by nature, or by a generall consent of all mankind, the world at first was divided into particular Kingdomes, and the *major part* of the people of each Kingdom assembled, allowed to chuse their King: yet it cannot truly be said that ever the *whole people*, or

the *major part*, or indeed any considerable part of the whole people of any nation ever assembled to any such purpose; For except by some secret miraculous instinct they should all meet at one time, and place; what one man, or company of men lesse then the whole people hath power to appoint either time, or place of elections, where all be alike *free by nature*? and without a lawfull summons it is most unjust to bind those that be absent. The whole people cannot summon it self, one man is sick, another is lame, a third is aged, and a fourth is under age of discretion: all these at some time or other, or at some place or other might be able to meet, if they might chuse their own time and place, as men naturally free should.

In Assemblies that are by humane politique constitution, the superior power that ordains such assemblies, can regulate and confine them both for time, place, persons, and other circumstances: but where there is an equality by nature, there can be no superior power, there every Infant at the hour it is born in hath a like interest with the greatest and wisest man in the world. Mankind is like the sea, ever ebbing or flowing, every minute one is borne, another dies, those that are the people, this minute, are not the people the next minute, in every instant and point of time there is a variation: no one time can be indifferent for all mankind to assemble, it cannot but be mischievous alwaies, at the least to all Infants, and others under age of discretion; not to speak of women, especially Virgins, who by birth have as much *naturall freedome* as any other, and therefore ought not to lose their liberty without their own consent.

But in part to salve this, it will be said that Infants and Children may be concluded by the votes of their Parents. This remedy may cure some part of the mischief, but it destroies the whole cause: and at last stumbles upon the true originall of government. For if it be allowed, that the acts of Parents bind the Children, then farewell the doctrine of the *naturall freedome of mankind*, where subjection of Children to Parents is naturall, there can be no naturall freedome. If any reply, that not all children shall be bound by their Parents consent, but onely those that are under age: It must be considered, that in nature there is no *nonage*, if a man be not borne free, she doth not assigne him any other time

time when he ſhall attaine his freedome: or if ſhe did, then Children attaining that age ſhould be diſcharged of their Parents contract. So that in concluſion, if it be imagined that the people were ever but once free from ſubjection by nature, it will prove a meer impoſſibility ever lawfully to introduce any kind of government whatſoever without apparent wrong to a multitude of people.

It is further obſervable, that ordinarily Children and Servants are far a greater number then Parents and Maſters, and for the major part of theſe to be able to vote and appoint what government or Governours their Fathers and Maſters ſhall be ſubject unto, is moſt unnaturall, and in effect to give the Children the government over their Parents.

To all this it may be oppoſed, what need diſpute how a People can chuſe a King, ſince there be multitude of examples that Kings have been, and are now adaies choſen by their People? The anſwer is. 1. The queſtion is not of the *fact*, but of the *right*, whether it have been done by a *naturall*, or by an *uſurped* right. 2. Many Kings are, and have bin choſen by ſome ſmall part of a People, but by *the whole*, or *major part* of a Kingdom not any at all. Moſt have been elected by the Nobility, Great men, and Princes of the bloud, as in *Poland*, *Denmarke*, and in *Sweden*; not by any *collective* or *repreſentative* body of any Nation: ſometimes a factious or ſeditious City, or a mutinous Army hath ſet up a King, but none of all thoſe could ever prove they had *right* or juſt title either by *nature*, or any otherwiſe for ſuch elections: we may reſolve upon theſe two propoſitions. 1. *That the People have no power or right of themſelves to chuſe Kings.* 2. *If they had any ſuch right, it is not poſſible for them any way lawfully to exerciſe it.*

You will ſay, *There muſt neceſſarily be a right in ſome body to elect, in caſe a King die without an Heir.* I anſwer, *No King can die without an Heir as long as there is any one man living in the world*, it may be the Heir may be unknown to the people, but that is no fault in nature, but the negligence or ignorance of thoſe whom it concerns. But if a King could die without an Heir, yet the Kingly power in that caſe ſhal not eſcheat to the whole people, but to the ſupream Heads and Fathers of Families; not as they are the *people*, but *quatenus*, they are Fathers of people, over whom they have a

supream power divolved unto them after the death of their soveraign Ancestor, and if any can have a right to chuse a King it must be these Fathers by conferring their distinct fatherly powers upon one man alone. Chief fathers in Scripture are accounted as all the people, as *all the Children of Israel*, as *all the Congregation*, as the Text plainly expounds it self, 2 *Chr.* 1.2. where *Solomon* speaks to *All Israel*, that is, *to the Captains, the Judges, and to every Governour, the* CHIEF OF THE FATHERS, and so the *Elders of Israel* are expounded to be *the chief of the Fathers of the Children of Israel*, 1 *King.* 8.1. and the 2 *Chr.* 5.2.

If it be objected, That Kings are not now (as they were at the first planting or peopling of the world) the Fathers of their People, or Kingdoms, and that the fatherhood hath lost the right of governing. An answer is, That all Kings that now are, or ever were; are, or were either Fathers of their People, or the Heirs of such Fathers, or Usurpers of the right of such Fathers: It is a truth undeniable that there cannot be any multitude of men whatsoever, either great, or small, though gathered together from the severall corners and remotest regions of the world, but that in the same multitude considered by it self, there is one man amongst them that in nature hath a right to be the King of all the rest, as being the next Heir to *Adam*: and all the others subject unto him, every man by nature is a King, or a Subject: the obedience which all Subjects yeild to Kings is but the paying of that duty which is due to the supream fatherhood: Many times by the act either of an Usurper himself, or of those that set him up, the true Heire of a Crown is dispossessed, God using the ministry of the wickedest men for the removing and setting up of Kings: in such cases the Subjects obedience to the fatherly power must go along and wait upon Gods providence who only hath right to give and take away Kingdomes, and thereby to adopt Subjects into the obedience of another fatherly power: according to that of *Aristotle* [illegible] *A Monarchy or Kingdome is a fatherly government. Ethic. l.8. c.12.*

However the *naturall freedome of the People* be cried up as the sole means to determine the kinde of government, and the Governours: yet in the close, all the favourers of this opinion are constrained to grant, that the obedience which is due to the fatherly power

power is the true and only cause of the subjection, which we that are now living give to Kings, since none of us gave consent to government, but only our Fore-fathers act and consent hath concluded us.

Whereas many confesse that government only in the *abstract* is the ordinance of God, they are not able to prove any such ordinance in the Scripture, but only in the fatherly power, and therefore we find the Commandement that enjoynes obedience to Superiours given in the tearms of *Honour thy Father*: so that not onely the *power or right of government*, but the *form of the power of governing*, and *the person having that power*, are all the ordinante of God, the first Father had not onely simply power, but power Monarchicall as he was a Father immediately from God; For by the appointment of God as soon as *Adam* was Created he was Monarch of the World, though he had no Subjects; for though there could not be actuall government untill there were Subjects, yet by the right of nature it was due to *Adam* to be Governour of his posterity: though not in *act*, yet at least in *habit Adam* was a King from his Creation: And in the state of innocency he had been Governour of his Children, for the *integrity* or *excellency* of the Subjects doth not take away the *order* or *eminency* of the Governour. *Eve* was subject to *Adam* before he sinned, the Angels who are of a pure nature are subject to God: which confutes their saying, who in disgrace of civill government or power say it was brought in by sin: Government as to *coactive power* was after sin, because condition suppoleth some disorder which was not in the state of innocency: But as for *directive power* the condition of humane nature requires it, since civil society cannot be imagined without power of Government: for although as long as men continued in the state of innocency they might not need the direction of *Adam* in those things which were *necessarily* and *morally* to be done, yet things *indifferent* that depended meerly on their free will might be directed by the power of *Adams* command.

If we consider the first plantations of the world which were after the building of *Babel* when the confusion of tongues was, we may find the division of the earth into distinct Kingdomes and Countries by severall families, whereof the Sons or Grand-chil-

dren of *Noah* were the Kings or Governours by a fatherly right, and for the preſervation of this power and right in the Fathers, God was pleaſed upon ſeverall Families to beſtow a Language on each by it ſelf, the better to unite it into a Nation or Kingdome, as appears by the words of the Text, *Gen.* 10. *Theſe are the Families of the Sons of* Noah, *after their generations in their Nations, and by theſe were the Nations divided in the earth after the flood: Every one after* HIS TONGUE AFTER THEIR FAMILIES *in their Nations.*

The Kings of *England* have been gratiouſly pleaſed to admit, and accept the Commons in Parliament as the repreſentees of the Kingdom, yet really and truly they are not the repreſentative body of the whole Kingdom.

The Commons in Parliament are not the repreſentative body of the whole Kingdome, they do not repreſent the King who is the head and principall member of the Kingdome, nor do they repreſent the Lords who are the nobler and higher part of the body of the Realme, and are perſonally preſent in Parliament, and therefore need no repreſentation. The Commons onely repreſent a part of the lower or inferior part of the body of the People, which are the Free-holders worth 40s. by the year, and the Commons or Free-men of Cities and Burroughs, or the *major part* of them. All which are not one quarter, nay, not a tenth part of the Commons of the Kingdome, for in every Pariſh for one Free-holder there may be found ten that are no Free-holders: and anciently before Rents were improved there were nothing neer ſo many Free-holders of 40 s. by the year as now are to be found.

The ſcope and Concluſion of this diſcourſe and Argument is, that the people taken in what notion, or ſenſe ſoever, either *diffuſively, collectively*, or *repreſentatively*, have not, nor cannot exerciſe any right or power of their own by nature either in chuſing or in regulating Kings. But whatſoever power any people doth lawfully exerciſe, it muſt receive it from a ſupreame power on earth, and practice it with ſuch limitations as that ſuperior power ſhall appoint. To returne to our Author.

He

He divides Monarchy into { *Absolute*, *Limited.*

Absolute Monarchy (saith he) *is, when the Soveraignty is so fully in one, that it hath no limits or bounds under God but his owne will.* This definition of his I embrace; And as before I charged our Author for not giving us a definition of Monarchy in general, so I now note him for not affording us any definition of any other particular kind of Monarchy but onely of absolute, it may peradventure make some doubt that there is no other sort but only that which he calls *absolute.* p. 6.

Concerning *absolute Monarchy*, he grants, that *such were the antient Eastern Monarchies, and that of the Turk and Persian at this day*, herein he saith very true. And we must remember him though he doe not mention them that the Monarchs of *Judah* and *Israel* must be comprehended under the number of those he calls the *Eastern Monarchies*: and truly if he had said that all the antient Monarchies of the world had been absolute I should not have quarreld at him, nor doe I know who could have disproved him.

Next it follows, that *Absolute Monarchy is, when a people are absolutely resigned up, or resigne up themselves to be governed by the will of One man——where men put themselves into this utmost degree of subjection by oath and contract, or are borne and brought unto it by Gods providence.* In both these places he acknowledgeth there may be other means of obtaining a Monarchy besides the contract of a Nation, or peoples resigning up themselves to be governed, which is contrary to what he after saies, that *the sole mean or root of all Soveraignty is the consent and fundamentall contract of a Nation of men.* p. 12.

Moreover the Author determins, that *Absolute Monarchy is a lawfull government, and that men may be borne and brought unto it by Gods providence, it binds them, and they must abide it because an oath to a lawfull thing is obligatory.* This position of his I approve, but his reason doth not satisfie, for men are bound to obey a lawfull Governour, though neither they, nor their Ancestors ever took oath.

Then he proceeds, and confesseth that in *Rom.* 13. *the power* p. 7.

which

which then was, was Absolute: yet the Apostle not excluding it, calls it Gods ordinance, *and commands subjection to it: for Christs commands Tribute to be paid, and pales it himself; yet it was an arbitrary tax, the production of an absolute power.* These are the loyall expressions of our Author touching *absolute* or *arbitrary* Monarchy: I doe the rather mention these passages of our Author, because very many in these dayes dare not stick to maintain, that an arbitrary or Absolute Monarch not limited by law, is all one with a Tyrant, and to be governed by one mans will, is to be made a slave. It is a question whether our Author be not of that mind when he saith, *absolute subjection is servitude*, and therupon a late p. 54. friend, to limited Monarchy, affirmes in a discourse upon the question in debate betwixt the King and Parliament, That *to make a King by the standard of God and reason the Subjects slaves, for conscience sake.* A hard saying, and I doubt whether he that gives this censure can be excused from blasphemy. It is a bold speech to condemn all the Kings of *Israel* for *Tyrants*, or to say all their *Subjects were slaves.* But certainly the man doth not know neither what a Tyrant is, or what a Slave is: indeed this words are frequent enough in every mans mouth, & our old English Translation of the Bible sometimes the word *Tyrant*, but the Authors of our new Translation have been so carefull as not once to use the words, but only for the proper name of a man, *Act. 19. 9.* because they find no Hebrew word in the Scripture to signifie a *Tyrant*, or a *slave*. Neither *Bodin*, nor Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (whom none accounts of despicable judgement) in all their discourses definitions or descriptions of tyranny, though they have all three laboured in the point, and I make some question whether any mans can possibly describe what a Tyrant is, and then call to any one man that ever was in the world that was a Tyrant according to that description.

I return again to our Treatise of Monarchy, where I find three DEGREES of *absolute Monarchy*.

1. *Where the Monarch, whose will is the law, derives to himself no law to rule by, but by command of his own judgement as he thinks fit.*

2. *When he sets a law, by which he will ordinarily govern, reserving to himself a liberty to any from it as in his discretion he*

he thinks FIT, and *in this the Soveraign is as free as the former.*

3. *Where he not only ſets a rule, but promiſeth in many caſes not to alter it, but this promiſe or engagement is an after condiſcent or act of grace not diſſolving the abſolute Oath of ſubjection which went before it.* 3.

For the firſt of theſe three, there is no queſtion but it is a pure abſolute Monarchy; but as for the other two, though he ſay, *they be abſolute*, yet in regard, they ſet themſelves limits or laws to govern by, if it pleaſe our Author to term them *limited Monarchs*, I wil not oppoſe him, yet I muſt tell him that his third degree of abſolute Monarchy is ſuch a kind, as I believe, never hath been, nor ever can be in the world. For a Monarch to promiſe and engage in many caſes not to *alter a law*, it is moſt neceſſary that thoſe many caſes ſhould be particularly expreſſed at the bargain making: Now he that underſtands the nature and condition of all *humane laws*, knows that particular caſes are infinite and not comprehenſible within any rules or laws, and if many caſes ſhould be comprehended, and many omitted, yet even thoſe that were comprehended would admit of variety of interpretations and diſputations, therefore our Author doth not, nor can tell us of any ſuch reſerved caſes promiſed by any Monarch.

Again, where he ſaith, *An after condiſcent or Act of grace doth not diſſolve the abſolute Oath of ſubjection which went before it*, though in this he ſpeak true, yet ſtill he ſeems to inſinuate, that *an Oath only binds to ſubjection*, which Oath, as he would have us believe, was at firſt *arbitrary*: whereas Subjects are bound to obey Monarchs though they never *take oath* of *ſubjection*, as wel as children are bound to obey their parents, though they never ſwear to do it.

Next, his diſtinction between *the rule of power, and the exerciſe of it*, is vain; for *to rule*, is *to exerciſe* power: for himſelf ſaith, that *Government is*, poteſtatis exercitium, *the exerciſe of a morall power.* p. 7. p. 1.

Laſtly, whereas our Author ſaith, *a Monarch cannot break his promiſe without ſin*: let me adde, that if the ſafety of the people, *ſalus populi*, require a breach of the Monarchs promiſe, then the ſin, if there be any, is rather in the *making*, then *breaking of the promiſe*, the *ſafety of the people* is an exception implied in every Monarchicall promiſe.

But it seems these three degrees of Monarchy do not satisfie our Author, he is not content to have a Monarch have a law or
p. 12. rule to govern by, but he must have *this limitation or law to be* ab externo, *from somebody else, and not from the determination of the Monarchs own will*, and therefore he saith, *by originall constitution the society publick confers on one man a power by limited contract, re-*
p. 13. *signing themselves to be governed by such a law*, also before he told us, *the sole means of Soveraignty is the consent and fundamentall contract, which consent puts them in their power, which can be no more nor other then is conveyed to them by such contract of subjection.* If the sole means of a limited Monarchy be the consent and fundamentall contract of a Nation, how is it that he saith, *A Monarch may be limited by after condiscent*? is an after condiscent *all one* with a fundamentall contract with originall and radicall constitution? why ye: he tells us, *it is a secundary originall constitution*, a secundary originall, that is, *a second first*: And if that condiscent be an act of grace, doth not this condiscent to a limitation come from the free determination of the Monarchs will? If he either *formally, or virtually* (as our Author supposeth) *desert his absolute or arbitrary power which he hath by conquest, or other right.*

And if it be from the free will of the Monarch, why doth he say the limitation must be *ab externo*? he told us before, that
p. 8. *subjection cannot be dissolved or lessen'd by an Act of grace comming afterwards*, but he hath better bethought himself, and now he will have *acts of grace to be of two kinds, and the latter kind may amount* (as he saith) *to a resignation of absolute Monarchy.* But can any man believe that a Monarch who by conquest or other right hath an absolute arbitrary power, will voluntarily resigne that absoluteness, and accept so much power only as the people shall please to give him, and such laws to govern by as they shall make choice of? can he shew that ever any Monarch was so gratious or kind-hearted as to lay down his lawfull power freely at his Subjects feet? is it not sufficient grace if such an absolute Monarch be content to set down a law to himself by which he will ordinarily govern, but he must needs relinquish his old independent commission, & take a new one from his Subjects clog'd with limitations?

Finally, I observe, that howsoever our Author speak big of the radicall, fundamentall, and originall power of the people as the root

root of all Soveraignty: yet in a better moode he will take up and be contented with a Monarchy limited by an after condiſcent and act of grace from the Monarch himſelf.

Thus I have briefly touched his grounds of *Limited Monarchy*; if now we ſhall aske, what proof or examples he hath to juſtifie his doctrine, he is as mute as a fiſh: only *Pythagoras* hath ſaid it, and we muſt believe him, for though our Author would have Monarchy to be limited, yet he could be content his opinion ſhould be abſolute, and not limited to any rule or example.

The maine Charge I have againſt our Author now remaines to be diſcuſſed, and it is this, That inſtead of a Treatiſe of *Monarchy*, he hath brought forth a Treatiſe of *Anarchy*, and that by his owne confeſſions ſhall be made good.

Firſt, he holds, *A limited Monarch tranſcends his bounds if he commands beyond the law, and the Subject legally is not bound to ſubjection in ſuch caſes.*

Now if you aske the Author who ſhall be judge, whether the Monarch tranſcends his bounds, and of the exceſſes of the ſoveraigne power. His anſwer is, *There is an impoſſibility of conſtituting a judge to determine this laſt controverſie* ——— *I conceive in a limited legall Monarchy there can be no ſtated internall Judge of the Monarchs actions, if there grow a fundamentall variance betwixt him and the community* ——— *there can be no Judge legall and conſtituted within that form of government.* In theſe anſwers it appears, there is no Judge to determine the Soveraignes or the Monarchs tranſgreſſing his fundamentall limits: yet our Author is very cautelous, and ſuppoſeth onely a fundamentall variance betwixt the Monarch and the Community, he is aſhamed to put the queſtion home. I demand of him if there be a variance betwixt the Monarch and any of the meaneſt perſon of the Community, who ſhall be the Judge? for inſtance, *The King commands me, or gives judgment againſt me*: I reply, *His commands are illegall, and his judgment not according to law*: who muſt judge? *if the Monarch himſelf judge, then you deſtroy the frame of the State, and make it abſolute*, ſaith our Author, and he gives his reaſon: for *to define a Monarch to a law, and then to make him judge of his owne deviations from that law, is to abſolve him from all law.* On the other ſide, *if any, or all the people may judge, then you put the Soveraignty* p. 16. p. 17.

in the whole body, or part of it, and destroy the being of Monarchy. Thus our Author hath caught himself in a plaine *dilemma*: if the King be judge, then he is no limited Monarch. If the people be judge, then he is no Monarch at all. So farewell *limited Monarchy*, nay farewell *all government* if there be no Judge.

p. 14. Would you know what help our Author hath found out for this mischief? First, he saith, that *a Subject is bound to yeild to a Magistrate, when he cannot, de jure, challenge obedience, if it be in a thing in which he can possibly without subversion, and in which his act*

p. 17. *may not be made a leading case, and so bring on a prescription against publike liberty*: Again, he saith, *if the act in which the exorbitance or transgression of the Monarch is supposed to be, be of lesser moment, and not striking at the very being of that Government, it ought to be*

p. 49. *borne by publick patience, rather then to endanger the being of the State.* The like words he uses in another place, saying, *if the will of the Monarch exceed the limits of the law, it ought to be submitted to, so it be not contrary to Gods law, nor bring with it such an evill to our selves, or the publick, that we cannot be accessary to it by obeying.* These are but fig-leaves to cover the nakednesse of our Authors limited Monarch formed upon weak suppofals in cases of lesser moment. For if the Monarch be to govern only according to law, no transgression of his can be of so small moment if he break the bounds of law, but it is a subversion of the government it self, and may be made a leading case, and so bring on a prescription against publick liberty, it strikes at the very being of the Government, and brings with it such an evill, as the party that suffers, or the publick cannot be accessory to: let the case be never so small; yet if there be illegality in the act, it strikes at the very being of *limited Monarchy* which is to be legall: unlesse our Author will say, as in effect he doth, That his limited Monarch must governe according to law in great and publick matters onely, and that in smaller matters which concerne private men or poor persons, he

p. 17. may rule according to his own will.

Secondly, our Author tells us, *if the Monarchs act of exorbitancy or transgression be mortall, and such as suffered dissolves the frame of Government and publick liberty, then the illegality is to be set open and redresment sought by petition, which if failing prevention by resistance ought to be, and if it be apparent and appeale be made to the*

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conſciences of mankind, then the fundamentall lawes of that Monarchy muſt judge and pronounce the ſentence in every mans conſcience, and every man (ſo farre as concernes him) muſt follow the evidence of Truth in his own ſoul to oppoſe or not to oppoſe, according as he can in conſcience acquit or condemne the act of the governour or Monarch.

Whereas my Author requires, that the *deſtructive nature of illegall commands ſhould be ſet open:* Surely his mind is, That each private man in his particular caſe ſhould make a publique remonſtrance to the world of the illegall act of the Monarch, and then if upon his Petition he cannot be relieved, according to his deſire, he ought, or it is his duty to make reſiſtance. Here I would know, who can be the judge, whether the illegality be made apparent; it is a maine point, ſince every man is prone to flatter himſelfe in his owne cauſe, and to think it good, and that the wrong or injuſtice he ſuffers is apparent, when other moderate and indifferent men can diſcover no ſuch thing: and in this caſe the judgement of the common people cannot be gathered or known by any poſſible meanes; or if it could, it were like to be various and erronious.

Yet our Author will have *an appeale made to the conſcience of all Man-kind*, and that being made, he concludes, *the fundamentall Lawes muſt judge and pronounce ſentence in every mans conſcience.* Whereas he ſaith, *The Fundamentall Lawes muſt judge*, I would very gladly learne of him, or of any other for him, what a Fundamentall Law is, or elſe have but any one Law named me that any man can ſay is a Fundamentall Law of the Monarchy: I confeſſe he tells us, that *the Common Lawes are the foundation, and the Statute Laws are ſuperſtructive*; yet I think he dares not ſay that there is any one branch or part of the Common Law but that it may be taken away by an Act of Parliament: for many points of the Common Law (*de facto*) have, and (*de jure*) any point may be taken away. How can that be called Fundamentall, which hath and may be removed, and yet the Statute Lawes ſtand firme and ſtable? it is contrary to the nature of Fundamental, for the building to ſtand when the foundation is taken away.

p. 18.

p. 38.

Beſides, the Common Law is generally acknowledged to be nothing elſe but common uſage or cuſtome, which by length of time onely obtaines authority: So that it followes in time after government, but cannot goe before it, and be the rule to Govern-

ment, by any originall or radicall constitution.

Also the Common Law being unwritten doubtful and difficult, cannot but be an uncertaine rule to governe by, which is against the nature of a rule, which is and ought to be certaine.

Lastly, by making the Common Law onely to be the foundation, *Magna Charta* is excluded from being a Fundamentall Law, and also all other Statutes from being limitations to Monarchy, since the Fundamentall Lawes onely are to be judge.

Truly the conscience of all Man-kind is a pretty large Tribunall for the Fundamentall Lawes to pronounce sentence in. It is very much that Lawes which in their owne nature are dumb, and alwayes need a Judge to pronounce sentence, should now be able to speak, & pronounce sentence themselves: such a sentence surely must be upon the hearing of one party onely, for it is impossible for a Monarch to make his defence and answer, and produce his witnesses, in every mans conscience, in each mans cause, who will but question the legality of the Monarchs Government? Certainly the sentence cannot but be unjust, where but one mans tale is heard. For all this the conclusion is, *Every man must oppose or not oppose the Monarch according to his owne conscience.* Thus at the last, every man is brought by this Doctrine of our Authors, to be his owne judge. And I also appeal to the consciences of all mankinde, whether the end of this be not utter confusion, and Anarchy.

[p. 18. Yet after all this, the Author saith, *this power of every mans judging the illegall acts of the Monarch, argues not a superiority of those who judge over him, who is judged*; and he gives us a profound reason for it; his words are, *it is not authorative and civill, but morall residing in reasonable creatures, and lawfull for them to execute.* What our Author meanes by these words, (*not authorative and civill, but morall*) perhaps I understand not, though I think I doe; yet it serves my turne that he saith, that *resistance ought to be made, and every man must oppose or not oppose, according as in conscience he can acquit or condemn the acts of his governour*; for if it inable a man to resist and oppose his Governour, without question tis authorative and civill, whereas he addes, that *morall judgement is residing in reasonable creatures, and lawfull for them to execute*; he seemes to imply that authorative, and civill judgement doth not reside

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in reasonable creatures, nor can be lawfully executed: Such a conclusion fits well with Anarchy, for he that takes away all Government, and leaves every man to his owne conscience, and so makes him an Independent in State, may well teach that authority resides not in reasonable creatures, nor can be lawfully executed.

I passe from his absolute and limited Monarchy, to his division or partition (for he allowes no division) of Monarchy into *simple* and *mixed*, *viz.* of a *Monarch*, the *Nobility* and *Community*.

Where first, observe a doubt of our Authors, *whether a firme union can be in a mixture of equality, he rather thinks there must be a priority of order in one of the three, or else there can be no unity.* He must know that priority of order doth not hinder, but that there may be an equality of mixture if the shares be equall, for he that hath the first share may have no more then the others: so that if he will have an inequality of mixture, a primity of share will not serve the turne: the first share must be greater or better then the others, or else they will be equall, and then he cannot call it a mixed Monarchy where only a primity of share in the Supream power is in one: but by his own confession he may better call it a mixed Aristocracy or mixed Democracy, then a mixed Monarchy, since he tells us, *the Houses of Parliament sure have two parts of the greatest legislative authority*, and if the King have but a third part, sure their shares are equall. p. 25. p. 56.

The first step our Author makes, is this, *The soveraigne power must be originally in all three*; next he finds, that *if there be an equality of shares in three Estates, there can be no ground to denominate a Monarch*, and then his mixed Monarch might be thought but an empty title: Therefore in the third place he resolves us, that *to salve all, A power must be sought out wherewith the Monarch must be invested, which is not so great as to destroy the mixture, nor so titular as to destroy the Monarchy*, and therefore he conceives it may be in these particulars. p. 25.

First, *a Monarch in a mixed Monarchy may be said to be a Monarch* (as he conceives) *if he be the head & fountain of the power which governs & executes the established Laws*, that is, a man may be a Monarch though he doe but give power to others to govern and execute the established Laws, thus he brings his Monarch one step or peg lower still then he was before: at first he made us believe his p. 26.

Monarch

Monarch should have the Supream power, which is the legislative; then he falls from that, and tells us, A limited Monarch must govern according to law onely; thus he is brought from the legislative to the gubernative or executive power only; nor doth he stay here, but is taken a hole lower, for now he must not govern, but *he must constitute Officers to govern by laws*; if chusing Officers to govern be governing, then our Author will allow his Monarch to be a Governour, not else: and therefore he that divided *Supream power* into *legislative* and *gubernative*, doth now divide it into *legislative* and *power of constituting Officers* for governing by Laws, and *this* he saith *is left to the Monarch*. Indeed you have left him a faire portion of power, but are we sure he may enjoy this? it seems our Author is not confident in this neither, and some others doe deny it him: our Author speaking of
p. 38. the government of this Kingdome, saith, *The choice of the Officers is intrusted to the judgement of the Monarch for ought I know*, he is not resolute in the point, but for ought he knows; and for ought I know his Monarch is but titular, an empty title, certaine of no power at all.

The power of chusing Officers only, is the baselt of all powers; *Aristotle* (as I remember) saith, *The common people are fit for nothing but to chuse Officers, and to take accompts*: and indeed, in all *popular governments* the multitude perform this work: and this work in a King puts him below all his Subjects, and makes him the onely Subject in a Kingdome, or the onely man that cannot Govern; there is not the poorest man of the multitude but is capable of some Office or other, and by that means may sometime or other perhaps govern according to the laws, onely the King can be no Officer but to chuse Officers, his Subjects may all Governe, but he may not.

Next, I cannot see how in true sense our Author can say, *his Monarch is the head, and fountain of power*, since his doctrine is, that *in a limited Monarchy, the publick society by originall constitution confer on one man power*, is not then the publick society the head and fountain of power, and not the King?

Again, when he tels us of his Monarch, that *both the other States as well conjunctim as divisim be his sworn subjects, and owe obedience to his commands*: he doth but flout his poor Monarch, for why

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are they called his Subjects and his Commons? he (without any complement) is their Subject, for they as Officers, may governe and command according to Law: but he may not, for he must judge by his judges in Courts of Justice onely: that is, he may not judge or governe at all.

2. As for the second particular, *the sole or chiefe power in capacitating persons for the Surpeame power.* And

3. As to this third particular, the *power of convocating such persons*, they are both so far from making a Monarch, that they are the only way to make him none, by chooſing and calling others to ſhare in the Supreame power.

4. Laſtly, concerning *his Authority being the laſt and greateſt in the eſtabliſhing every Act*, It makes him no Monarch, except he be ſole that hath that Authority: neither his *primity of ſhare* in the Supreame power, nor *his Authority being laſt*, no, nor *his having the greateſt Authority* doth make him a Monarch, unleſſe he have that Authority alone.

Beſides, how can he ſhew that in his mixed Monarchy the Monarchs power is the greateſt? The greateſt ſhare that our Author allowes him in the legiſlative power is a negative voice, and the like is allowed to the Nobility and Commons: And truly a negative voice is but a baſe tearme to expreſſe a Legiſlative power, a Negative voice is but a privative power, or indeed no power at all to do any thing, onely a power to hinder an Act from being done.

Wherefore I conclude not any of his four, nor all of them put into one perſon makes the ſtate Monarchicall. p. 26.

This mixed Monarchy juſt like the limited ends in confuſion & deſtruction of all Government: you ſhall hear the Authors confeſſion: *That one inconvenience muſt neceſſarily be in all mixed Governments, which I ſhewed to be in limited Governmẽts, there can be no conſtituted legall Authoritative Judge of the fundamentall controverſies ariſing between the three Eſtates. If ſuch do riſe it is the fatall diſeaſe of thoſe Governments for which no ſalve can be applied. It is a caſe beyond the poſſible proviſion of ſuch a Government, of this queſtion there is no legall judge. The accuſing ſide muſt make it evident to every mans conſcience ——— the appeale muſt be to the commmunity, as if there were no Government, and as by evidence conſciences are* p. 28.

convinced they are bound to give their assistance. The wit of man cannot say more for *Anarchy.*

Thus have I picked out the flowers out of his Doctrine about limited Monarchy, and presented them with some brief Annotations, it were a tedious worke to collect all the learned contradictions, and ambiguous expressions that occur in every page of his platonique Monarcy, the booke hath so much of fancy that it is a better piece of Poetry then Policy.

Because many may thinke that the maine doctrine of *limited* and *mixed* Monarchy may in it self be most authenticall and grounded upon strong and evident reason; although our Author perhaps have failed in some of his expressions, and be liable to exceptions. Therefore I will be bold to enquire whether *Aristotle* could find either reason or example of a *limited* or *mixed* Monarchy, and the rather because I find our Author altogether insists upon a rationall way of justifying his opinion. No man I thinke will deny but that *Aristotle* was sufficiently curious in searching out the severall formes of Common-wealths and Kingdomes, yet I do not find that he ever so much as dreamed of either a *limited* or *mixed* Monarchy: Severall other sorts of Monarchies he reckons up. In the third booke of his Politiques he spends three whole Chapters together upon the severall kindes of Monarchy.

First, in his fourteenth Chapter he mentions four kindes of Monarchy.

The *Laconique* or *Lacedemonian.*
The *Barbarique.*
The *Æsymnetical.*
The *Heroique.*

The Laconique or Lacedemonian King (saith he) *had only Supreame power when he was out of the bounds of the Lacedemonian territories, then he had absolute power, his Kingdome was like to a perpetuall Lord Generall of an Army.*

The Barbarique King (saith *Aristotle*) *had a power very neere to tyranny, yet they were lawfull and paternall, because the Barbarians are of a more servile nature then the Grecians, and the Asiatiques then the Europeans, they do willingly without repining live under a*

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maſterly Government, yet their government is ſtable, and ſafe becauſe they are paternall and lawfull Kingdomes, and their guardes are Royall and not tyrannicall, for Kings are guarded by their owne Subjects, and Tyrants are guarded by ſtrangers.

The Æſymneticall King (ſaith Ariſt.) *in old time in Greece, was an elective Tyrant, and differed only from the Barbarian Kings in that he was elective and not paternall, theſe ſorts of Kings becauſe they were tyrannicall were Maſterly: but becauſe they were over ſuch as voluntarily elected them they were Regall.*

The Heroique were theſe (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *which flouriſhed in the heroicall times, to whom the people did willingly obey, and they were paternall and lawfull, becauſe theſe Kings did deſerve well of the multitude either by teaching them arts, or by warring for them, or by gathering them together when they were diſperſed, or by dividing lands amongſt them: Theſe Kings had Supreame power in war, in ſacrifices, in judicature.*

Theſe four ſorts of Monarchy hath *Ariſtotle* thus diſtinguiſhed, and after ſummes them up together, and concludes his Chapter as if he had forgot himſelf, and reckons up a fift kind of Monarchy, which is ſaith he, *when one alone hath Supreame power of all the reſt, for as there is a domeſticall Kingdome of one houſe, ſo the Kingdome of a City, or of one or many Nations is a family.*

Theſe are all the ſorts of Monarchy that *Ariſtotle* hath found out, and he hath ſtrained hard to make them ſo many: Firſt for his *Lacedæmonian* King, himſelfe confeſſeth that he was but a kind of military Commander in war, and ſo in effect no more a King then all Generals of Armies: And yet this No-King of his was not limited by any Law, nor mixed with any companions of his Government, when he was in the wars out of the confines of *Lacedemon*, he was as *Ariſtotle* ſtiles him Αὐτοκράτωρ, of full and abſolute command, no Law, no companion to govern his Army but his owne will.

Next for *Ariſtotles Æſymneticall* King, it appears he was out of date in *Ariſtotles* time, for he ſaith, he was *amongſt the ancient Grecians* ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησιν. *Ariſtotle* might well have ſpared the naming him (if he had not wanted other ſorts) for the honour of his owne Nation: for he that but now told us the *Barbarians* were of a more ſervile nature then the *Grecians*, comes

here and tels us that these old *Greeke* Kings were elective tyrants. The *Barbarians* did but suffer tyrants in them, but the old *Grecians* choose tyrants indeed: which then must we thinke were the greater slaves, the *Greeks* or the *Barbarians*? Now if these sorts of Kings were tyrants, we cannot suppose they were limited either by Law, or joyned with companions: Indeed *Arist.* saith some of these tyrants were limited to certaine times and actions, for they had not all their power for terme of life, nor could meddle but in certaine businesses, yet during the time they were tyrants, and in the actions whereto they were limited, they had absolute power to do what they list, according to their owne will, or else they could not have been said to be tyrants.

As for *Aristotles Heroicke* King, he gives the like note upon him that he did upon the *Æsymnet*, that he was in old time κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς χρόνους in the heroick times. The thing that made these heroicall Kingdomes differ from other sorts of Kingdomes, was only the meanes by which the first Kings obtained their Kingdomes, and not the manner of Government, for in that they were as absolute as other Kings were without either limitation by law, or mixture of companions.

Lastly as for *Arist. Barbaricke* sort of Kings, since he reckoned all the world *Barbarians* except the *Grecians*, his *Barbaricke* King must extend to all other sorts of Kings in the world, besides those of *Greece*, and so may go under *Aristotles* fifth sort of Kings, which in generall comprehends all other sorts, and is no speciall forme of Monarchy.

Thus upon a true accompt it is evident that the five severall sorts of Kings, mentioned by *Aristotle* are at the most but different, and accidentall meanes of the first obtaining or holding of Monarchies; and not reall or essentiall differences of the manner of Government, which was alwayes absolute, without either limitation or mixture.

I may be thought perhaps to mistake, or wrong *Aristotle* in questioning his diversities of Kings: but it seemes *Aristotle* himselfe was partly of the same minde, for in the very next Chapter when he had better considered of the point, he confessed that *to speake the truth, there were almost but two sorts of Monarchies worth the considering, that is his first or* Lacedæmonique *sort, and his fift or last*

sort

ſort where one alone hath Supreame power over all the reſt: thus he hath brought his five ſorts to two. Now for the firſt of theſe two, his *Lacedemonian* King he hath confeſſed before, that *he was no more then a Generaliſſimo* of an Army, and ſo upon the mater no King at all; and then there remaines onely his laſt ſort of Kings, *where one alone hath the Supreame power*. And this in ſubſtance is the finall reſolution of *Ariſtotle* himſelf, for in his ſixteenth Chapter where he delivers his laſt thoughts touching the kindes of Monarchy, he firſt diſchargeth his *Laconick* King from being any ſort of Monarchy: and then gives us two exact rules about Monarchy, and both theſe are point blanke againſt limited and mixed Monarchy, therefore I ſhall propoſe them to be conſidered of, as concluding all Monarchy to be abſolute and arbitrary.

1. The one rule is, that *he that is ſaid to be a King according to Law, is no ſort of government or Kingdome at all*: Ὁ κατὰ νόμον βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος πολιτείας. *Ariſt.* pol. l. 3. c. 16.

2. The ſecond rule is, that *a true King is he that ruleth all according to his owne will*, κατὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ βούλησιν.

This latter frees a Monarch from the mixture of partners or ſharers in government, as the former rule doth from limitation by lawes.

Thus in briefe I have traced *Ariſtotle* in his crabbed and broken paſſages touching diverſities of Kings, where firſt he findes but four ſorts, and then he ſtumbles upon a fift, and in the next Chapter contents himſelfe onely with two ſorts of Kings, but in the Chapter following concludes with one, which is the true perfect Monarch who rules all by his own will: In all this we find nothing for a regulated or mixed Monarchy, but againſt it.

Moreover whereas the Author of the treatiſe of Monarchy affirmes it as a prime principle that *all Monarchies* (except that of the *Jewes*) *depend upon humane deſignment, when the conſent of a ſociety of men, and a fundamentall contract of a Nation, by originall or radicall conſtitution confers power*. He muſt know that *Ariſt.* ſearching into the originall of government ſhewes himſelfe in this point a better Divine then our Author, and as if he had ſtudied the book of *Geneſis*, teacheth that Monarchies fetch their petigree from the right of fathers, and not from the gift or contract of people, his words may thus be engliſhed. *At the firſt Cities were*

Governed by Kings, and so even to this day are Nations also: for such as were under Kingly Government did come together, for every house is governed by a King who is the eldest, and so also Colonies are governed for kindred sake. And immediately before he tels us that the *first society made of many houses is a village, which naturally seemes to be a Colonie of a house, which some call fosterbrethren, or Children, and Childrens Children.*

So in conclusion we have gained *Aristotles* judgement in three maine, and essentiall points.

1. A *King according to Law makes no kind of Government.*
2. A *King must rule according to his own will.*
3. *The originall of Kings, is from the right of Fatherhood.*

What *Aristotles* judgement was two thousand years since, is agreeable to the doctrine of the great modern politician *Bodin*: Heare him touching limited Monarchy; *Unto Majesty or Soveraignty* (saith he) *belongeth an absolute power not subject to any Law ——— chief power given unto a Prince with condition is not properly Soveraignty or power absolute: Except such conditions annexed to the Soveraignty, be directly comprehended within the laws of God and nature. ——— Albeit by the sufferance of the King of* England, *controversies between the King and his people are sometimes determined by the high Court of Parliament, and sometimes by the Lord Chief Justice of* England: *yet all the estates remaine in full subjection to the King, who is no wayes bound to follow their advise, neither to consent to their requests. ——— It is certaine that the lawes, priviledges, and grants of Princes have no force but during their life, if they be not ratified by the expresse consent, or by sufferance of the Prince following, especially Priviledges. ——— Much lesse should a Prince be bound unto the Lawes he maketh himself, for a man may well receive a Law from an other man, but impossible it is in nature for to give a Law unto himself, no more then it is to command a mans self in a matter depending of his owne will.* The Law saith, *Nulla obligatio consistere potest, que à voluntate promittentis statum capit. The Soveraigne Prince may derogate unto the lawes that he hath promised and sworn to keep, if the equity thereof be ceased, and that of himself without the consent of his subjects, ——— the Majesty of a true Soveraigne Prince is to be known when the estates of all the people assembled in all humility present their requests and*

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ſupplications to their Prince, without having power in any thing to command, determine or give voice, but that that which it pleaſeth the King to like, or diſlike, to command or bid is holden for Law: wherein they which have written of the duty of Magiſtrates have deceived themſelves in maintaining that the power of the people is greater then the Prince: a thing which cauſeth oft true ſubjects to revolt from their obedience to their Prince, and miniſtreth matter of great troubles in Common-wealths, of which their opinion there is neither reaſon nor ground, for if the King be ſubject unto the aſſemblies and decrees of the people, he ſhould neither be King nor Soveraigne, and the Common-wealth neither Realme nor Monarchy, but a meer Ariſtocracy ——— So we ſee the principall point of Soveraigne Majeſty and abſolute power to conſiſt principally in giving Laws unto the Subjects in generall without their conſent. Bodin de Rep. l. 1. c. 8.

To confound the ſtate of Monarchy, with the popular or Ariſtocraticall eſtate is a thing impoſſible, and in effect incompatible, and ſuch as cannot be imagined for Soveraignty being of it ſelf indiviſible, how can it at one and the ſame time be divided betwixt one Prince, the Nobility, and the people in Common? The firſt marke of Soveraigne Majeſty is to be of power to give Laws, and to command over them unto the ſubjects, and who ſhould thoſe ſubjects be that ſhould yeild their obedience to the Law, if they ſhould have alſo power to make the Laws? who ſhould he be that could give the Law? being himſelf conſtrained to receive it of them unto whom himſelf gave it? ſo that of neceſſity we muſt conclude, that as no one in particular hath the power to make the Law in ſuch a ſtate, that then the ſtate muſt needs be a ſtate popular. ——— Never any Common-wealth hath been made of an Ariſtocracie, and popular eſtate, much leſſe of the three eſtates of a Common-weal ——— ſuch ſtates wherein the rights of Soveraignty are divided, are not rightly to be called Common-weals, but rather the corruption of Common-weals, as Herodotus *has moſt briefly, but truly written ——— Common-weales which change their ſtate, the Soveraigne right and power of them being divided find no reſt from Civill wars and broiles, till they againe recover ſome one of the three formes, and the Soveraignty be wholy in one of the ſtates or other ——— where the rights of the Soveraignty are divided betwixt the Prince and his Subjects, in that confuſion of ſtate there is ſtill endleſſe ſtirs and quarels for the ſuperiority, untill that ſome one,*

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some few or altogether have got the Soveraignty. Id. lib. 2. c. 1.

This Judgment of *Bodius* touching Limited and Mixed Monarchy is not according to the mind of our Author, nor yet of the Observator, who useth the strength of his wit to overthrow Absolute and Arbitrary Government in this Kingdome, and yet in the main body of his discourse lets fall such truths from his pen as give a deadly wound to the Cause he pleads for, if they be indifferently waighed and considered, I will not pick a line or two here and there to wrest against him, but will present a whole Page of his Book, or more together, that so we may have an entire prospect upon the Observators mind, *Without Society* (saith the Observator) *men could not live, Without Laws men could not be sociable; and without Authority somewhere to judge according to Law, Law was vaine: It was soone therefore provided, that Lawes according to the dictate of reason should be ratified by common consent: when it afterward appeared, that man was yet subject to unnaturall distruction by the tyranny of entrusted Magistrates, a mischief almost as fatall as to be without all Magistracy. How to provide a wholsome remedy therefore was not so easie to be invented, it was not difficult to invent Laws for the limiting of Supream Governors, but to invent how those Laws should be executed, or by whom interpreted, was almost impossible,* Nam quis Custodiet ipsos Custodes, *to place a Superior above a Supream was held unnaturall; yet what a lifelesse thing would Law be without any Judge to determine and force it? If it be agreed upon, that limits should be prefixed to Princes and Judges to decree according to those limits, yet an other inconvenience will presently affront us: for we cannot restrain Princes too far, but we shall dis-able them from some good: long it was ere the world could extricate it selfe out of all these extremities, or find out an orderly means whereby to avoid the danger of unbounded Prerogative on this hand, and to excessive liberty on the other, and scarce hath long experience yet fully satisfied the minds of all men in it. In the Infancy of the world when man was not so artificiall and elaborate in cruelty and oppression as now, and policy most rude. Most Nations did chuse rather to subject themselves to the meer discretion of their Lords, then rely upon any limits, and so be ruled by Arbitrary Edicts then Written Statutes. But since tyranny being more exquisite, and policy more perfect, especially where learning and Religion flou-*

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rish, few Nations will endure the thraldome which usually accompanies unbounded and unconditionate Royalty: Yet long it was ere the bounds and conditions of Supream Lords was so wisely determined or quietly conserved as now they are: for at first when as Euphori, Tribuni, Curatores, &c. were erected to poise against the seale of Soveraignty, much blood was shed about them, and States were put into new broiles by them, and some places the remedy proved worse then the disease. In all great distresses the body of the people were ever constrained to rise, and by force of the Major party to put an end to all intestine strifes, and make a redresse of all publike grievances: But many times calamities grew to a strange height before so cumbersome a body could be raised, and when it was raised, the motions of it were so distracted and irregular, that after much spoile and effusion of blood, sometimes only one tyranny was exchanged for another: till some was invented to regulate the motions of the peoples molimenous body. I think arbitrary rule was most safe for the World: But Now since most Countries have found an art and peaceable order for publick Assemblies, whereby the people may assume its owne power to do it selfe right without disturbance to it self or injury to Princes: He is very unjust that wil oppose this art or order. That Princes may not be Now beyond all limits and laws, nor yet to be tied upon those limits by any private parties: The whole community in its underived Majesty shall convene to do justice, and that the convention may not be without intelligence, certaine times and places, and formes, shall be appointed for it reglement, and that the vastnesse of its own bulke may not breed confusion, by vertue of election and representation, a few shall act for many, the wise shall consent for the simple, the vertue of all shall redound to some, and the prudence of some shall redound to all: and surely as this admirably composed Court which is now called a Parliament, is more regularly and orderly formed then when it was called mickle Synod of Wittena-gemot, or when this reall body of the people did throng together at it: so it is not yet perhaps without some defects which by art and policy might receive farther amendment: some divisions have sprung up of late between both Houses, and some between the King and both Houses by reason of incertainty of jurisdiction, and some Lawyers doubt how far the Parliament is able to create new formes and precedents, and has a jurisdiction over it self: All these doubts would be solemnly solved: But in the first place the true priviledges of Parliament belonging not only to the being and efficacy of it,

but to the honor and complement of it would be clearly declared, for the very naming of priviledges of Parliament, as if they were chimeras to the ignorant sort, and utterly unknown unto the learned, hath been entertained with scorne since the beginning of this Parliament.

In this large passage taken out of the Observator which concernes the originall of all Government, two notable Propositions may be principally observed.

First, our Observator confesseth *arbitrary or absolute government to be the first, and the safest government for the world.*

Secondly, he acknowledgeth that *the jurisdiction is uncertaine and the priviledges not cleerely declared of limited Monarchy.*

These two evident truths delivered by him, he labours mainely to disguise. He seemes to insinuate that *arbitrary Government was but in the infancy of the World*, for so he termes it, but if we enquire of him, how long he will have this infancy of the world to last, he grants it continued above three thousand years, which is an unreasonable time for the world to continue under age: for the first oppossers he doth find of arbitrary power were the *ephori, tribuni, curatores, &c.* The *ephori* were above three thousand years after the Creation, and the *tribuni* were later; as for his *curatores* I know not whom he meanes, except the *Master of the Court of Wards.* I cannot English the word *curator* better. I doe not believe that he can shew that any *curatores or et cæteras* which he mentions were so ancient as the *ephori.* As for the *tribuni* he mistakes much if he thinkes they were erected to limit and bound Monarchy, for the state of *Rome* was at the least *Aristocraticall* (as they call it) *if not popular*, when *tribunes* of the people were first hatched. And for the *Ephori*, their power did not limit or regulate Monarchy, but quite take it away; for a *Lacedemonian King in the judgement of* Aristotle *was no King indeed, but in name onely, as Generalissime of an Army*, and the best polititians reckon the *Spartan* Common-wealth to have been *Aristocraticall* and not *Monarchicall*, and if a limited Monarchy cannot be found in *Lacedemon*, I doubt our *Observator* will hardly find it any where else in the whole World; and in substance he confesseth as much when he saith, Now *most Countries have found out an art and peaceable order for publique Assemblies*, as if it were a thing but new done, and not before, for so the word *Now* doth import.

The *observator* in confessing *the Jurisdiction to be uncertaine and*

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the priviledges undetermined of that Court that should bound and limit Monarchy, doth in effect acknowledge there is no such Court at all: for every Court consists of *Jurisdictions* and *Priviledges*; it is these two that create a Court, and are the essentials of it: *If the admirably composed Court of Parliament have some defects which may receive amendment*, as he saith, *and if those defects be such as cause divisions both between the Houses, and between the King and both Houses, and these divisions be about* so maine a matter as *Jurisdictions, and Priviledges, and power to create new Priviledges*, all which are the fundamentals of every Court, (for untill they be agreed upon, the act of every Court may not onely be uncertaine, but invalid, and cause of tumults and sedition:) And *if all these doubts & divisions have need to be solemnly solved*, as our *Observator* confesseth: Then he hath no reason at all to say that *Now the conditions of Supream Lords are wisely determined and quietly conserved*, or that Now *most Countries have found out an art, and peaceable order for publick affaires, whereby the people may resume its own power to do it self right without injurie unto Princes*, for how can the *underived Majesty of the people by assuming its own power*, tell how to do *her selfe right*, or how *to avoid doing injury to the Prince, if her jurisdiction be uncertain, and Priviledges undetermined?*

He tels us Now *most Countries have found an art, and peaceable order for publick Assemblies: and to the intent, that Princes may not be* Now *beyond all limits and Laws, the whole community in tis underived Majesty shall convene to do Justice.* But he doth not name so much as one Country or Kingdome that hath found out this art, where the whole Community in its underived Majesty did ever convene to do Justice. I challenge him or any other for him to name but one Kingdome that hath either *Now* or heretofore found out this art or peaceable order; We do hear a great rumor in this age of moderated and limited Kings, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark* are talked of for such; and in these Kingdomes, or no where is such a moderated Government, as our *Observator* meanes, to be found. A little enquiry would be made into the manner of the Government of these Kingdomes, for these Northern people, as *Bodin* observeth, *breathe after liberty.*

First for *Poland*, *Boterus* saith, that *the Government of it, is elective altogether, and represents rather an Aristocracie then a Kingdome: the Nobility who have great authority in the Diets, chusing*

the King, and limiting His Authority, making His Soveraignty but a ſlaviſh Royalty: theſe diminutions of regality began firſt by default of King Lewis, *and* Jagello, *who to gaine the ſucceſſion in the Kingdome contrary to the Laws, one for his daughter, and the other for his ſon, departed with many of his Royalties and prerogatives, to buy the voices of the Nobility.* The *French* Author of the book called *the Eſtates of the world,* doth informe us that the *Princes Authority was more free, not being ſubject to any Laws, and having Abſolute Power, not onely of their eſtates, but alſo of life, and death: Since Chriſtian Religion was received, it began to be moderated, firſt by holy admonitions of the Biſhops and Clergy; and then by ſervices of the Nobility in War:. Religious Princes gave many Honours, and many liberties to the Clergy and Nobility, and quit much of their Rights, the which their ſucceſſors have continued. The ſuperiour dignity is reduced to two degrees, that is,* the Palatinate *and the* Chaſtelleine, *for that Kings in former times did by little and little call theſe men to publike conſultations, notwithſtanding that they had abſolute power to do all things of themſelves, to command, diſpoſe, recompence and puniſh of their own motions: ſince, they have ordained that theſe dignities ſhould make the body of a Senate. The King doth not challenge much right and power over His Nobility, nor over their eſtates, neither hath he any over the Clergy. And though the Kings Authority depends on the Nobility for His election, yet in many things it is abſolute after he He is choſen: He appoints the Diets at what time and place He pleaſeth, He chooſeth Lay Councelors; and nominates the Biſhops and whom He will have to be His Privy Counſell: He is abſolute diſpoſer of the Revenews of the Crown: He is abſolute eſtabliſher of the decrees of the Diets: it is in His power to advance and reward whom He pleaſeth He is Lord immediate of His Subjects, but not of His Nobility: He is Soveraigne Judge of His Nobility in criminall cauſes. The power of the Nobility daily encreaſeth, for that in reſpect of the Kings election they neither have law, rule, nor forme to do it, neither by writing nor tradition. As the King governs His Subjects which are immediately His with abſolute Authority, ſo the Nobility diſpoſe immediately of their vaſſals, over whom every one hath more then a regall power, ſo as they entreat them like ſlaves. There be certaine men in* Poland *who are called* EARTHLY MESSENGERS *or* Nuntios, *they are as it were Agents of Juriſdictions, or circles of the Nobility:. theſe have a certaine Authority, and as* Bo-

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terus saith, *in the time of their Diets these men assemble in a place neer to the Senate House, where they choose two Marshals by whom (but with a tribune-like authority) they signifie unto the Counsell what their requests are. Not long since their authority and reputation grew so mightily, that they now carry themselves as heads and governours, rather then officers and ministers of the publike decrees of the State: One of the Counsell refused his Senators place to become one of these officers. Every Palatine, the King requiring it cals together all the Nobility of His Palatinate, where having propounded unto them the matters whereon they are to treate, and their will being known, they choose four or six out of the company of the* EARTHLY MESSENGERS, these deputies meet and make one body, which they call the order of Knights.

This being of late years the manner and order of the government of *Poland*, it is not possible for the *Observator* to find among them that the *whole community in its underived Majesty doth ever convene to do Justice:* nor any election or representation of the Community, or that the people assume its owne power to do it self right. The EARTHLY MESSENGERS though they may be thought to represent the Commons, and of late take much upon them, yet they are elected and chosen by the Nobility as their agents and officers. The Community are either vassals to the King, or to the Nobility, and enjoy as little freedome or liberty as any Nation. But it may be said perhaps, that though the Community do not limit the King, yet the Nobility do, and so he is a limited Monarchy. The Answer is, that in truth though the Nobility at the chooſing of their King do limit his power, and do give him an oath: yet afterwards they have alwayes a desire to please him and to second his will, and this they are forced to do to avoid discord, for by reason of their great power they are subject to great dissentions, not only among themselves, but between them and the order of Knights which are the *earthly messengers*: yea the Provinces are at discord one with another: and as for Religion, the diversity of Sects in *Poland* bred perpetuall jars and hatred among the people, there being as many Sects as in *Amsterdam* it self, or any popular government can desire. The danger of sedition is the cause, that though the Crown depends on the election of the Nobility; yet they have never rejected the Kings successour, or transferred the Realme to any other family

but once, when deposing *Ladislaus* for his idleneſſe (whom yet afterward they reſtored) they elected *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*. But if the Nobility do agree to hold their King to his condicions, which is not to conclude any thing but by the adviſe of his Counſell of Nobles, nor to chooſe any wife without their leaves, then it muſt be ſaid to be a Common-weal, not a Royalty, and the King but only the mouth of the Kingdome, or as Queen *Chriſtina* complained that *Her Husband was but the ſhadow of a Soveraigne.*

Next, if it be conſidered how the Nobility of *Poland* came to this great power; it was not by any *originall contract*, or *popular convention*, for it is ſaid *they have neither Law, rule nor formes written or unwritten for the election of their King*; they may thanke the Biſhops and Clergy: for by their holy admonitions and adviſe, good and Religious Princes to ſhew their piety were firſt brought to *give much of their Rights and Priviledges to their Subjects, devout Kings were meerely cheated of ſome of their Royalties.* What power ſoever generall Aſſemblies of the Eſtates claime, or exercife over and above the bare naked act of Counſelling, they were firſt beholding to the Popiſh Clergy for it: it is they firſt brought Parliaments into requeſt and power: I cannot find in any Kingdome but onely where Popery hath been, that Parliaments have been of reputation, and in the greateſt times of Superſtition they are firſt mentioned.

As for the Kingdome of *Denmarke* I read that the Senators who are all choſen out of the Nobility, and ſeldome exceed the number of 28, with the cheif of the Realme do chooſe their King. They have alwaies in a manner ſet the Kings eldeſt Son upon the Royall Throne. The Nobility of *Denmarke* withſtood the Coronation of *Frederick* 1559. till he ſware not to put any Noble man to death untill he were judged of the Senat, & that all Noble men ſhould have power of life and death over their Subjects without appeal, and the King to give no office without conſent of the Councell. There is a Chancelour of the Realme before whom they do appeal from all the Provinces and Illands, and from him to the King himſelfe. I hear of nothing in this Kingdome that tends to popularity; no Aſſembly of the Commons, no elections, or repreſentation of them.

Sweden is governed by a King *heretofore elective*, but now made here-

hereditary in *Guſtavus* time: it is divided into Provinces: an appeale lieth from the Vicount of every teritory to a Soveraigne Judge called a *Lamen*, from the *Lamens* to the Kings Councell, and from this Councell, to the King himſelf.

Now let the *Obſervator* bethinke himſelf, whether all, or any of theſe three Countries have found out any art at all whereby the *people or community may aſſume its owne power*, if neither of theſe Kingdomes have, moſt Countries have not, nay none have. The people or Community in theſe three Realms are as abſolute vaſſals as any in the world; the regulating power if any be, is in the Nobility: Nor is it ſuch in the Nobility as it makes ſhew for. The election of Kings is rather a formality then any real power, for they dare hardly chooſe any but the Heire, or one of the blood Royall: if they ſhould chooſe one among the Nobility, it would prove very factious; if a ſtranger, odious, neither ſafe. For the Government though the Kings be ſworne to raigne according to the Laws, and are not to do any thing without the conſent of their Councell in publick affaires: yet in regard they have power both to advance and reward whom they pleaſe, the Nobility and Senators do comply with their Kings, and *Boterus* concludes of the Kings of *Poland*, who ſeem to be moſt moderated, that *ſuch as is their valour, dexterity, & wiſdome, ſuch is their Power, Authority, and Government.* Alſo *Bodin* ſaith, that *theſe three Kingdomes are States changeable and uncertaine, as the Nobility is ſtronger then the Prince, or the Prince then the Nobility*, and the people are ſo far from liberty, that he ſaith, *Divers particular Lords exact not only cuſtomes, but tributes alſo, which are confirmed and grow ſtronger, both by long preſcription of time, and uſe of Judgements.*

The End.





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